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THE
NORTH-ENGLISH HOMILY COLLECTION

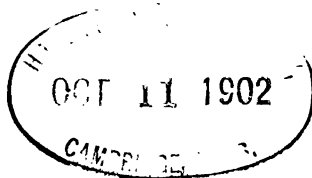
A STUDY OF
THE MANUSCRIPT RELATIONS
AND OF
THE SOURCES OF THE TALES

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF STUDIES FOR ENGLISH
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
IN JUNE 1901
FOR THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF LETTERS

BY
GORDON HALL GEROULD.

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NOTE.

In printing this dissertation I wish to express my obligations to all those who have given me help in its preparation: for the courteous kindness, among others, of the officers of the Bodleian Library, of the Library of the University of Cambridge, of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, and of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; to the Librarian of Lambeth Palace who allowed a manuscript to be sent me at Oxford; and to Rev. J. Fenwick, of Cheltenham, the owner of the Phillipps Collection. Above all I am indebted to the kindness and ever-ready help of my honored teacher and friend, Professor Arthur S. Napier, at whose suggestion the work was undertaken.

I hope in the not too remote future to publish a critical edition of the North-English Homily Collection with a study of its language, for which I have already gathered a good deal of material.

PART I.

MANUSCRIPT RELATIONS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NORTH-ENGLISH LEGENDARY.

- Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, 1881.
 " Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXXII, p. 167.
 Mätzner, *Sprachproben*, I, p. 278.
 Morris and Skeat, *Specimens of E. E. Lit.*, II, p. 83.
 Small (J)., *English Metrical Homilies*, 1862.

MSS.

Original Collection	{	Edinburgh, Royal Coll. of Phys.
		Ashmole 42.
		Camb. Univ. G g V. 31.
		" " D d I. 1.
		Lambeth 260.
Expanded Collection (1)	{	Harleian 2391.
		Phillipps 8122.
		" 8254.
Expanded Collection (2)	{	Vernon.
		Addit. 22283.
Fragments	{	Harl. 4196.
		Cott. Tib. E, VII.
		Bodleian, Eng. Poet. C 4.
		In possession of Lord Robartes.

Of the expanded collections I shall say nothing, confining my attention to the original form. The tables of contents of these collections have been printed by Horstmann, *Altengl. Legend.*, p. lxxi and p. lxxviii. The Vernon collection differs chiefly in adding homilies for a great number of feast days, the Harleian by inserting also homilies for an extraordinary number of week days. The textual differences are well illustrated by the homily for the 2d Sunday in Advent which in MS. Harl. 4196 has only 29 lines out of 288 that approach the normal type of the original collection.

ORIGINAL COLLECTION.

The MSS. of this family have been fully and accurately described by Horstmann (*Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, p. lx. ff.) in so far as he knew them. A summary description of these will therefore suffice. Dr. Horstmann had not seen the Phillipps MSS., however, and he considerably antedated MS. Ash. 42, which he placed¹ in the second quarter of the 14th century. According to Mr. Falconer Madan, of the Bodleian Library, this MS. is rather of the early 15th century, an estimate which is corroborated by the fact that it contains homilies for certain feast days. This is certainly a mark of its comparatively late date, since the original form of the collection, as implied by the title *Evangelia Dominicalia*, contained homilies only for the Sundays of the church year.² Later on week-day feasts were gradually included in the collection. As will be shown there is no doubt that the Edin. MS. stands nearer the original than any other which we have preserved; but unhappily it exists only in a fragmentary form. Yet even this MS. is far from being a perfect type.

The MSS. of the collection are the following:—

- MS. Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians: thin quarto; northern dialect; vellum; early 14th century; printed by J. Small, *English Metrical Homilies*, Edin. 1862.
- MS. Ashmole 42: large octavo; northern dialect; vellum; early 15th century.
- MS. Camb. G g V. 31, Univ. Libr. Camb.: quarto; northern dialect; vellum; date probably nearly same as that of preceding.
- MS. Camb. D d I. 1, Univ. Libr. Camb.: long narrow form; southern dialect; paper and vellum; toward middle of 15th century.
- MS. Lambeth 260: small folio; northern dialect; paper; toward middle of 15th century.
- MS. Harl. 2391: quarto; northern dialect: paper; second half of 15th century; contains *narrationes* only.
- MS. Phillipps 8122: small quarto; northern dialect; paper and vellum (vellum enclosing quires, but in most cases apparently cut out before copying of contents); small, rather careless hand; 215 leaves, of which corners are torn through 12; bound in vellum-covered oak boards; date not earlier than last quarter of 14th century. Begins with a fragment of homily for Nativity. Homilies run from 1

¹ Horstmann, p. lxiv.

² Cf. Horstmann, p. lviii.

to 185(a) and include a Life of St. Bartholomew inserted abruptly into Dom. XV. post Trin. At bottom of 185(a) is a colophon with the name of the scribe:

“Nomē sc̃ptoris R. S.¹ plenū amoris.”

With 185(b) begins a Life of St. Anne which runs to 216(b), the end of the volume. Begins:

“All þt haues lykyng for to lere	herkens now
Of prophetes sawes & storys sere	to me.”

MS. Phillipps 8254: small quarto; northern dialect; paper; 174 leaves, of which half of first has been torn out; bound in modern Russia; writing clear but hurried, changes at beginning of 144(a); date first half of 15th century. Breaks in MS. include portion of homily for Purification and for Dom. LXX; from Feria II. in XL.

“And fande þer when þai com thider.”—to homily for In die Pentec.

¹ The second letter may possibly be G. Mr. F. Madan, who was kind enough to examine a sketch of the letter made from the MS., judged it to be S *probably*.

TABLE SHOWING CONTENTS OF VARIOUS MSS. WITH THEIR ARRANGEMENT.

Lines ——— show that homilies are contained in MS.

Lines show lacunæ in MS.

Lines 00000000 show that homilies were never contained in MS.

Ash. 42 and Lambeth 260.	Camb. Univ. Gg. V. 31	Camb. Univ. Dd. I. 1	Edinb.	Phil. 8122.	Phil. 8254.	Harl. 2391. (tales. only)
<i>Title of Hom. Narr. (if any).</i>						
Prologus.		00000000				
Ratio.						
Dom. I. in Adventu. Mary Magdalene.						
Dom. II. in Adventu. Monk who Returned.						See below.
Dom. III. in Adventu. Death of John Bapt.						
Dom. IV. in Adventu. Pilgrims to St. James.						Abbess only.
In die Nativitatis. (1) St. Martin, (2) St. Antony, (3) St. Machary.			Title diff.		Title like Edin.	See below.
Dom. inf. oct. Archbishop and Nun.						
In Epiphania. Three Kings.						00000000
Dom. I. post Epiph. St. John and the Boy.						
Dom. II. post Epiph. St. Thomas' Mother.				00000000	00000000	00000000
Dom. III. post Epiph. Gyezi.						
Dom. IV. post Epiph. Avaricious Knight.						
Dom. V. post Epiph. Devil as Physician.						
In Purificatione. (1) Widow, (2) Abbess.						
Dom. LXX. Hermit who Recanted.						
Dom. LX. Mawryne.						
Dom. L. St. Bernard and Peasant.						
Dom. I. in XL. Placidus.						00000000
Dom. II. in XL. Uncharitable Hermit.						
In die Annunc. Knight saved by Mary.						
Dom. III. in XL. St. Bede.						
Dom. IV. in XL. Piers Toller.		00000000				
In Passione Dom. Hermit and Thieves.						
Dom. in Ramis. Man in Devil's Leash.		Placed before Sermo Petri et Pauli				
In die Pasche. St. Martin and Beggar.				00000000		
Feria II. Devil in Church.						00000000
Dom. I. post Pasche. St. Edmund and Devil.						
Dom. II. post Pasche. Theobald.						
Dom. III. post Pasche. Good Monk.						
Dom. IV. post Pasche.						00000000
Dom. V. post Pasche. Mother of James and John.						
In Ascensione. Carpus.						

Ash. 42 and Lambeth 260.	Camb. Univ. Gg. V. 31	Camb. Univ. Dd. I. 1	Edinb.	Phil. 8122.	Phil. 8254.	Harl. 2391. (tales only)
<i>Title of Hom. Narr. (if any).</i>						
Dom. inf. oct. Melancholy King. Asc.	71					
In die Pentecos- tes.	75					
Feria II.	76					
In die S. Trinita- tis.						
Dom. I. post Trin.	Baptism of Christ. cc <i>the 18</i> <i>be here?</i>				
Dom. II. post Trin.	Hermit and Angel.					
Dom. III. post Trin.	Creation.					
Dom. IV. post Trin.	Harsh Monk.					
Dom. V. post Trin.					
Dom. VI. post Trin.					
Dom. VII. post Trin.					
Dom. VIII. post Trin.					
Dom. IX. post Trin.					
Dom. X. post Trin.					
Dom. XI. post Trin.	Hermit and St. Oswald.					
Dom. XII. post Trin.					
Dom. XIII. post Trin.	Theophil.					
Dom. XIV. post Trin.	Parish Priest.					
Dom. XV. post Trin.	Gardener.					
Dom. XVI. post Trin.	Monk's Brother.					
Dom. XVII. post Trin.	St. Pelagia.					
Dom. XVIII. post Trin.	Forgiving Knight.					
Dom. XIX. post Trin.	(1) Gregory and Trajan, (2) Im- prisoned Jews.					
Dom. XX. post Trin.	Gregory's Aunts.			Narr.	omitted.
Dom. XXI. post Trin.	Despised Nun.					
Dom. XXII. post Trin.	Backbiting Monk.					
Dom. XXIII. post Trin.	Esther.					
Dom. XXIV. post Trin.	(In <i>Ash.</i> referred to Dom. IV. in XL. In Lamb., a Latin homily.)	As in <i>Ash.</i>	Wise son.			Monk who Returned.
In Vigilia S. Joh- annis Bapt.						Pilgrim to St. James.
In die S. Johannis Bapt.	St. Alexis.					
Sermo in Festo Petri et Pauli.	Simon Magus.					
(Lacuna in <i>Ash.</i> from Dom. XX. to Dom. XXII. post Trin.)						

It is evident from this table that the MSS. may be divided roughly into two groups :

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | { | Ash. 42.
Lamb. 260.
Camb. G g V. 31.
Camb. D d I. 1.
Harl. 2391. |
| 2. | { | Edin.
Phill. 8122.
Phill. 8254. |

This is shown by the heading for Nativity in Edin. and Phill. 8254 ; by the narrative of St. Thomas' mother for Dom. II. post Epiph., omitted in Phill. 8122, Phill. 8254, and Harl. 2391 ; by the titles given for the same Sunday in Edin., Phill. 8122, and Phill. 8254 ; by the arrangement of the homilies for Annunciation, Dom. III., and Dom. IV. in Quadragesima ; by the omission of the narrative for Dom. XX. post Trin. in Phill. 8122 and Phill. 8254 ; and by the inclusion of the narratives of St. Alexis and Simon Magus in the members of the first group only. Notwithstanding the individual peculiarities of Cam D d I. 1 and Harl. 2391 they range themselves, as far as can be judged from their contents, with group 1.

On the basis of this conjectural arrangement a detailed study of the affiliations of the MSS. may be made. I have omitted Harl. 2391 and indicate the MSS. by the following letters :

- A = MS. Ash. 42.
 B = " Camb. G g V. 31.
 C = " Lamb. 260.
 D = " Camb. D d I. 1.
 E = " Phillipps 8254.
 F = " " 8122.
 G = Edin. (as printed by Small).

RELATION OF A TO C.

Taking the homily for the 2d Sunday in Advent as the basis of comparison.

(1) The close relationship is shown by the following instances where A and C differ from the other MSS. but are like each other: (2) what; (8) folk thole bathe traye; (9) fall; (13) in heght; (14) all of; (16) mageste and grete; (19) pese; (22) vs boght when we ware; (24) Anothir; (28) ge may; (29) pir takenynges when ge se; (31) sall awaie fare; (41) spekes; (42) in it vs; (49) pat; (51) bales; (58) pe pore it . . . sowande; (69) And; (72) for; (75) pat takenynges; (76) sterne & sonne; (85) pai may pen trow; (86) om pan in hy; (88) may *instead of* sal; (89) pare pai; (102) takens; (103) says; (104) takens; (105) dome sall; (109) hill; (111) hilles; (112) Sexti fete; (116) haue lesse; (117) pe mere; (121) ferde; (122) brynne; 130 quake & stere & all men; (131) hilles; (133) oute; (134) & als . . . out of caues lepe; (136) in yes; (140) pat gret; (141) uerraymente; (142) All pe erde brenne & pe firmamente; (144) newe be made & pat; (145) all men pan; (146) wip paim to pat assyse; (147, 148, 149, 150) *represented in other texts by two lines*; (152) had leuere; (154) it breme; (155) To all synfull pat comes pare; (158) schamesli; (163) maye; (168) paynes; (169) es in synne; (170) *throughout*; (173) pan may pai; (175) all men; (176) sawmpil; (177, 178, 183, 186) fermore; (192) Faythe ymange; (193) fermore; (203) If god; (206) leue pat; (216) brigte; (222) foule sathane; (223) pe toper thogt; (226) to now; (232) it ferde; (234) To; (235) I foundid; (238, 245) I zalde; (247) I sawe; (248) pt I had done; (249) In pe rewle in; (251) Forthi; (252) to hell for euer mare; (260) penance; (265) pis many; (266) He gert his brepir for him; (268) wyse; (274) forgiuen; (276) vnshriuen; (278) vs all forgiuen; (279) vs burd oure synnes bete; (283) clenli vs schryue; (284) And do rigt penance in pis lyue; (286) to; (287) euer mare sall.

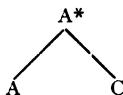
(2) The separation of C from A is shown by these instances, where C differs from A when A is normal: (4) pt es to pe; (5) says; (10) pai sall se; (23) had pis; (30) Wt pt crite es nere comand; (32) euermare; (43) for to sak; (62) & of scathe; (63) prines [sic]

prud; (66) gemes riche; (67) es hay; (68) Ynowghe mete; (79) oure takenynges; (81) *leaves out* he sais; (98) þat nere; (106) daie sall fall; (108) ere be; (132) þe erde; (140) vn to; (141) fourtend sall; (152) leuere fle; (158) we haf; (196) lufe him; (197) þt he felde; (201) for hym was full; (202) full gare; (216) He come to his fellow full; (221) noght; (229) lyfed; (249) plase; (255) Ihesu criste; (256) be in purgatorie; (257) To clense; (267) tald gowe; (271) rekenyng; (275) þer sall.

(3) C could not have been copied from A, as is shown by the following instances where C differs from A when A differs from normal: (17) þer begynnes to; (20) nere þan comen es; (33) All þe; (47) of þe takens; (70) & hase; (84) synfull men may mykyll morne; (88) þai may; (151) griseli to þaim; (233) & son sayd eftyr I geld; (247) I sare þer þen; (250) gastly wase; (254) had I.

(4) The same is shown by the following readings from A, when C follows normal and A does not: (21) he talde; (34) fordo ne; (36) ende brogt; (40) in yng-; (41) on þis; (55) saide; (57) were fall; (123) daye gresse; (138) thrittend sall; (158) lorne; (218) And prayed; (281) rigt þare; (271) For þare; (279) For þis.

We have, then, established the fact that A and C proceed from a common original which we may call A*. This may be represented graphically as follows:



RELATIONS OF A*, B, D, G, and E.

Again considering the homily for the 2d Sunday in Advent. Variations from normal (in case of D leaving dialectical changes out of account). Larger numbers are numbers of lines in *Dom. II. in Ad.* Smaller numbers show similarity or difference of changes in individual lines.

A*. 2¹, 8¹, 9¹, 13¹, 14¹, 16, 17, 19, 22, 24¹, 28¹, 29, 31, 33¹, 40, 41¹, 42¹, 47¹, 51¹, 66¹, 69¹, 70¹, 72, 75, 76¹, 81¹, 84¹, 85, 86¹, 88¹, 89, 102¹, 103¹, 105¹, 109¹, 111², 112¹, 116, 117¹, 121¹, 122¹, 130¹, 131, 133, 134¹, 136¹, 140¹, 141¹, 142¹, 144¹, 146¹, 147¹, 148¹, 149 and 150 *only in A**, 151¹, 152, 154¹, 155¹, 163, 173¹, 175, 176¹, 177¹, 178¹, 198¹, 203, 206¹, 216¹, 222¹, 223¹, 232, 233¹, 234¹, 235, 238¹, 245¹, 247¹, 248¹, 249¹, 250¹, 252¹, 254¹, 258 *inserted*, 260, 262¹, 265, 266¹, 268¹, 272¹, 276¹, 279¹, 284¹, 286¹, 287¹.

B. 15, 18, 21, 23, 33², 34¹, 35, 38², 41², 44¹, 46¹, 46², 47², 50¹, 53¹, 54¹, 57¹, 60, 61¹, 62, 63¹, 66², 67¹, 69², 71¹, 74, 78, 84², 86², 94, 98¹, 99¹, 100¹, 100², 102², 112², 118, 121², 123¹, 124¹, 125¹, 126¹, 130², 138¹, 139–142 *replaced*, 143¹, 144², 151², 155², 157, 161¹, 162¹, 167¹, 171, 172¹, 176², 178², 182¹, 184¹, 186¹, 188, 190, 193¹, 194¹, 196¹, 197¹, 198², 200¹, 205¹, 206², 209, 213¹, 225¹, 227¹, 228¹, 237, 244, 246¹, 247², 249², *line inserted before* 254, 254², 259¹, 261¹, 267¹, 271¹, 272², 274¹, 282, 283¹, 287².

D. 1¹, 6¹, 9², 10, 11¹, 12¹, 13², 14², 24², 25¹, 28¹, 30¹, 34², 36¹, 40, 42², 46², 51², 53², 54², 59¹, 60, 61², 63², 66¹, 70², 74, 79 and 80 *reversed*, 81², 82, 88², 89, 93, 100¹, 101, 102¹, 104¹, 105², 106, 109², 110², 111¹, 113, 114, 117², 118, 119¹, 121², 123², 124², 132, 134², 135¹, 136², 138², 139¹, 142², 143², 144², 147², 148², 154², 156¹, 159, 160¹, 161², 162², 165, 166¹, 167², 172², 175, 178², 179 and 180 *omitted*, 181, 182², 188, 194², 196², 197², 198², 199¹, 203, 205², 207, 211, 212, 213¹, 214, 216², 225², 226, 227², 228², 229, 230, 231, 232, 233², 234², 240¹, 241, 243¹, 245², 246², 247², 250¹, 254², 262¹, 264, 265, 266², 267², 268², 271², 273, 276², 279², 280¹, 281, 284².

G. 9², 12², 26, 28², 30², 32, 48¹, 55, 57², 59², 66², 67², 76², 79¹, 81², 82, 110¹, 125², 126², 128, 140², 142², 143², 156¹, 166¹, 172², 174, 177², 185, 186², 189, 193², 194², 199², 200², 204, 207, 211, 213²,

214, 225³, 228³, 243³, 259³, 262³, 267³, 272³, 274³, 275, 279³, 280³, 283³, 284³, 285, 286².

E. 1¹, 2³, 5, 6², 7 and 8 *reversed*, 9³, 11², 14¹, 18, 21², 24¹, 25³, 26, 33³, 34², 36³, 38², 42³, 44³, 46³, 47³, 48², 50³, 53¹, 54¹, 63³, 64, 66³, 69³, 71³, 75, 76³, 79², 82, 86³, 87, 89, 90, 94, 98², 99², 100¹, 102³, 103³, 104², 105³, 109¹, 110¹, 115, 119³, 122³, 124³, 126³, 128, 130³, 135³, 136³, 138³, 139³, 141³, 142⁴, 146³, 151³, 156³, 161³, 166², 167-172 *omitted*, 173², 176², 177², 178⁴, 182¹, 184³, 186³, 189, 190, 193³, 197¹, 198², 199², 200¹, 202, 204, 206³, 211, 222², 223³, 225³, 228¹, 230, 233³, 238², 240², 243², 244, 245³, 247⁴, 248³, 250³, 254², 257, 259², 261², 271¹, 274¹, 275, 280³, 283³, 288. 183 *is the same in B and E*.

Where all five agree: 3, 4, 27, 37, 39, 43, 45, 52, 65, 68, 73, 77, 83, 91, 92, 96, 97, 107, 108, 127, 129, 137, 153, 164, 187, 191, 195, 201, 208, 210, 215, 217, 219, 220, 224, 236, 239, 242, 253, 255, 256, 263, 269, 270, 277.

Where all disagree: 20, 49, 56, 58, 95, 120, 145, 158, 168, 169, 170, 183, 192, 218, 221, 251, 278, 284.

Thus out of 288 lines 45 are the same in all five MSS. and 18 different in each MS. A* has 95 individual variations from the normal, B has 92, D has 121, G has 55, and E has 109. The relative proportion of mistakes in G is therefore little more than half that in any other MS.

Places where E has mistakes like G alone: (9) *sal duin . . . of se*; (26) *tres froit*; (110) *felle for hille*; (120) *bremly bete*; (177) *of pe heuin*; (186) *enfermer*; (189) *ful wel*; (193) *enfermer*; (199) *And said ful hard*; (204) *That he suld*; (225) *alle wel*; (243) *ouerlop*; (259) *hop I*; (275) *the sines*.

Where E has mistakes like G and D: (82) *sal se*; (199) *And said*; (211) *for his mercye*.

Where E has mistakes like D alone: (34) *thyng*; (230) *dampned*; (254) *Gud help*.

Where E has mistakes like B alone: (18) *Lyfte your heued*; (33) *thyng*; (38) *kyngdom euer*; (53) *mekill baret brew*; (54) *And fast doun fell*; (66) *fro many*; (94) *on pame lefes sees*; (151) *till pame sall he*; (176) *syn both*; (190) *And drogh to gedir wt luf and selle*; (197) *pat he foore*; (200) *I drawe to ded*; (228) *That here in*; (244) *resouns*; (271) *pare be knawen*; (264) *forgeten*.

Where E has mistakes like B and D: (100) *sall brynges*; (182) *God haues*.

Where D has mistakes like A alone: 28¹, 40, 66, 102¹, 175, 203,
232, 250, 262¹, 265.

Like B alone: 60, 74, 118, 188, 213¹.

Like G alone: 156¹, 166¹, 172², 194², 207,
214.

Like E alone: 34², 230.

Like A and E: 89.

Like B and E: 100¹, 254².

Like G and E: 82, 211.

RELATIONS OF A*, B, D, F, AND G.

Taking the 3d Sunday after Epiphany as the basis of comparison —

Places where the MSS. have individual variations from the normal : —

A*. (5) askid him; (7 and 8) *only in A*; (12) on him was na wemme; (14) him hele; (20) ryche; (26) þe toþer; (29 and 30) *entire*; (49) haythen; (50) wele mare; (53) þare criste; (55) wanhope; (56) sarzynes; (64) euene [C. steuene]; (65) *þare omitted*; (66) þare euer; (74) In þe; (80) broȝt out; (89) had fra heuene; (91) þe lepire; (95) synne; (97) And bolnyng; (98) Es lepire callid þat som; (106) godes; (109) a gastely; (110) sawle; (112) for his; (120) full vncely; (129) sente him; (130) of siluer gode wane; (131) þaim in; (141) sawe wele; (151) For þis; (152) Lepir callid; (158) mesell man; (164) gerre synne; (171) for; (177) open; (185) ihesu vs pidir spede.

B. (11) þe make; (14) hys hele; (14 a and b) *only in B*; (27) ane vnworthy; (28) sall come; (31) þi pouste; (42) myght fullfyll; (45) Vnto; (56) And þay þe payem þt trowes; (59) And mykell; (60) And by este; (67) our saw; (78) þar fore . . . hys selle; (83) wyll I þe; (84) bene clene; (104) now confundes; (105) whar men; (106) and prelatyes; (112) hys clergy; (117) walde nane; (118) bath synne; (122) of synne; (126) For to; (128) walde he þaim; (138) Whyne coms; (143) For why; (147) þan hyght; (152) haly wrythe; (154) And to criste; (158) vnhal; (161-166) *omitted*; (178) A man to hell; (179) loues; (181) And þus if.

D. (6) þe folk þt wer; (12) anon no wem was; (19) And þan; (28) þt þu come; (30) ben schal he; (32) knyhtis haue; (33) anon goþ; (34) sone to me; (39) wile a word; (62) ioye schul take; (63) to heuene; (66) grennyng; (68) þis day doþ; (70) þis good man anon; (71) I haue; (72) *entire*; (74) anon; (75) of þis; (79) mad al; (80) hate bote; (88) Man had not ben holpin; (89) not to; (91) & synne; (93) For riht as a; (94) It makip vnhol and lotheli; (96) foul & loth; (97) foul pride; (100) of kynd; (105-6) *omitted*; (107) For þing; (109) Euer whan; (111) sum tyme; (122) & wiþ couetise for to craue; (125) sente; (128) he muste hem; (134) & treccheri; (138) Fro when he cam & what he had; (139) sir nowhar;

(140) þar ; (143-4) *omitted* ; (147) be hihte ; (148) I ȝow plyhte ; (154) Crist com ; (156) Til crist com & away wipid it ; (158) sike man ; (161) So gostli he helid ; (162) þorw ; (166) seyth pis day ; (169-70) *reversed* ; (171) lyuiþ ; (172) folower ; (178) to þe fendis ; *two additional lines at end.*

F. (6) felychepe [sic] ; (25) seruaundes ; (28) house com ; (31) haue men ; (34) Forth gase ; (42) yt myght fulfull ; (45) forsoyth he sayde ; (49) wryten se ; (51) þe Iwes [sic] ; (53) þe Iwes ; (55) And suld ; (66) mare be wt sar ; (68) In our gospell ; (73) seruaundes ; (74) þai vprase ; (76) tell may ; (79) to make hell ; (80) to bed hym ; (85) bot yf ; (88) he bene ; (93) þe body ; (94) vncomly ; (99) And syn of ; (104) now spilles o ; (112) for fals ; (113) þis bokes ; (115) ane halyman ; (118) þt war ; (123) And fast he ran ; (130) fayr plente ; (135) ne *omitted* ; (136) o ȝar ; (141) þi vntryfte ; (142) som gyfte ; (148) Sa be fell ; (160) tels to day ; (162) for ; (175) Qwen þai folow ; (178) sathanas in ; (184) any tene or.

G. (6) tha fern [ʔ] of folc ; (32) ic haf knihtes ; (38) worthi ; (42) fillé ; (47) Imang jowes ; (52) the lau ; (65) ouer ; (74) he rase ; (144) and sithen it helid ; (146) mishale ; (147) Helyseus hiht ; (177) fende.

A* thus has 39 individual variations from the normal ; B has 36 ; D has 57 ; F has 40 ; and G has 11.

Places where A* has variations like B alone : (6) all þat folk ; (24) I come ; (39) an anlepi.

Like D alone : (43) cristе þoȝt ; (65) Putte in ; (152) in boke ; (155) Off adame lepire mankynde ; (180) self.

Like F alone : (33) to gange ; (35) vnto ; (76) tonge ; (182) will vs lede.

Like B and D : (9) þare ; (93) mannes body ; (102) þe boke.

Like B and F : (150) þe boke.

Like D and F : (25) seruaunde ; (40) seruaunde ; (54) in ; (73) seruaunde.

Like B, D, and F : (2) hill.

Places where B has variations like F alone : (3) full many ; (37) wel *omitted* ; (63) Into þair blys wt gud atent ; (64) turment ; (65) mekyll ; (72) For þe thar her ; (78) þerfore ; (110) Mar for gyfte þan goddes mede ; (127) frendes twa ; (130) gret wan ; (131) dyde ; (150) hys ; (176) vn to.

Like G alone : (169) Summe hys myrakyll.

Like D and F: (90) *fra hym.*

Places where D has variations like F alone: (46) *begins I*; (59) *pe west*; (112) *symony*; (159) *hil*; (165) *hille*; (167) *folewid*; (168) *folowid*.

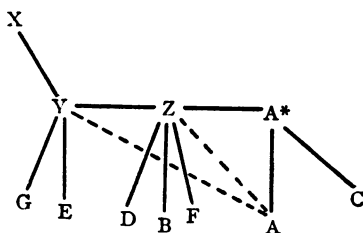
Like G alone: (33) *And I.*

Places where F has variations like G alone: (82) *his benisoune*; (98 a and b) *only in these MSS., but they disagree in form with each other.*

Notwithstanding the close relations which subsist between A and C, certain passages indicate contamination of one or the other MS.:—

(13) *A, B, and F have pis myracle fele, while C conforms to the normal*; (70) *C has kynght [sic] in company with B and F, while A conforms to the normal*; (75) *A and D have gospell of todaye, while C conforms to the normal*; (137) *C, D, F, and G omit full, while A does not*; (173) *C agrees with D with folowes for loues, while A is normal.*

From the foregoing examination of these two homilies, the affiliation of the MSS. appears to be that represented by the following diagram:



The inconsistencies which will be noticed by comparing the diagram with the tabulated variations are probably to be explained by the popularity of the collection and by the carelessness of ecclesiastical scribes who had the less regard for the form of the work since it was non-literary. That is, all the MSS. which are preserved, doubtless only a tithe of those which once existed, were quite evidently made for actual use by priests in their homiletic labors. For the form and literary finish of the homilies they would care nothing, even though regard for such matters had been characteristic of the time. This carelessness renders it uncommonly difficult to disentangle the relations of the surviving MSS.

FRAGMENTS.

Bodleian fragments, MS. Eng. poet. c 4, bought from Quaritch in 1895 and identified by Professor Napier, contain Narr. of St. Oswald from Dom. XI. post Trin. in part. It follows Ash. 42 rather closely and certainly belongs to the group A, B, C, D, F.

The Robartes fragment I have not seen.

PART II.

ANALYSIS OF TALES AND NOTES ON THEIR
ORIGIN.

NOTE.

I have verified all the references contained in the following notes, except in a few cases, where I have always referred to my authority. I have put the titles of the stories which are taken from the Bible in their proper places, but have done nothing further with them. The tales are treated in the order in which they appear in the collection.

LIST OF TALES.

1. Mary Magdelayne.
2. The Monk who Returned from Death.
3. Death of John the Baptist.
4. Pilgrim to St. James.
5. St. Martin and the Devil.
6. St. Anthony and the Snares.
7. St. Machary.
8. The Archbishop and the Nun.
9. The Three Kings.
10. St. John and the Boy.
11. Birth of St. Thomas.
12. Gyezi and Naaman.
13. The Usurious Knight.
14. The Devil as Physician.
15. The Hermit Who Returned to the World.
16. The Monk Mawryne.
17. St. Bernard and the Peasant.
18. St. Eustace.
19. The Uncharitable Hermit.
20. The Knight Beguiled by the Devil.
21. St. Bede and the Birds.
22. Piers Toller.
23. The Hermit and the Thieves.

24. The Man in the Devil's Leash.
25. St. Martin's Cloak.
26. The Devil in Church.
27. St. Edmund and the Devil.
28. Theobald and the Leper.
29. The Monk who Prayed to See the Joys of Heaven.
30. The Mother and Her Sons.
31. Carpus.
32. The Melancholy King and His Brother.
33. The Obedient Servant.
34. Taysis.
35. The Hermit and the Angel.
36. Story of Creation.
37. The Monk who was Harsh in Judging.
38. The Hermit and St. Oswald.
39. Theophil.
40. The Adulterous Priest.
41. The Thrifty Gardener.
42. The Wicked Brother of a Monk.
43. St. Pelagia.
44. The Knight who Forgave His Enemy.
45. St. Gregory and Trajan's Soul.
46. The Imprisoned Jews.
47. Tarsilla, Gordiana and Emiliana.
48. The Despised Nun.
49. The Backbiting Monk.
50. The Story of Esther.
51. The Widow's Candle.
52. The Prioress who was Miraculously Delivered.
53. St. Alexis.
54. Simon Magus.
55. The Wise Son.

PARTIAL LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES USED
IN PREPARATION OF NOTES.

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 Bourbon (Étienne de), *Anecdotes Historiques, etc.*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, 1877.
 Bozon (Nicole de), *Les Contes Moralists*, ed. Smith and Meyer, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1889.
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 Bromyard (Johannes), *Summa Prædicantium*, Antonius Koberger, Nürnberg, 1485.
 Cantipratanus (Thomas), *Bonum Universale de Apibus*, Duaci, 1605 and 1627.
 Cassianus (Johannes), *Collationes*, Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.* t. xlix.
 Clemens Alexandrinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, etc., Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.* t. IX.
 Coigny (Gautier de), *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. l'Abbé Poquet, 1857.
 Condé (Jehan de), *Le Dit du Roi et des Hermites*, ed. Scheler, in *Dits et Contes de B. de Condé*, 1866-7.
 Cornu (J.) ed. *Traité de Dévotion (Extraits)* (from MS. 266, Bibl. d'Alcobaca Torre de Tombo, Lisbon), *Romania* XI., p. 381.
 Crane (T. F.), ed. *Jacques de Vitry: Exempla*, Folk-Lore Soc., 1890.
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 Eude de Cheriton, *Fables and Sermons*, cf. Hervieux.
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 Furnivall (F. J.), ed. *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne with the French Treatise on Which it is Founded Le Manuel des Pechiez by William of Waddington*, Roxb. Club, 1862.
 Furnivall (F. J.), ed. *Adam Davie's Dreams*, E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser., 1878.
 Gaster (M.), *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, Royal Asiatic Soc., 1899.
 Gaster (M.) *An Old Hebrew Romance of Alexander*, Journal Royal Asiat. Soc., 1897.

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- Gregory the Great, *Homilies and Dialogues*, Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXVI., LXXVII.
- Gregory of Tours, *Opera*, Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXI.
- Guibert de Nogent, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Luc d'Archery, Paris, 1651.
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- Hampson, *Medii Aevi Calendarium*.
- Heisterbach (Caesar von), *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange, 1851.
- Henczynski (Richard), *Leben des Heil. Alexius*, *Acta Germanica*, Band VI.
- Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Arnold, *Mast. of Rolls Ser.*, 1879.
- Herolt (John), *Sermones Discipuli de Tempore et de Sanctis*, *Moguntia*, 1612.
- Herolt (John), *Sermones Discipuli Quadragesimales*, *Moguntia*, 1612.
- Herolt (John), *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, Rothmagi, 1511.
- Hervieux (Léopold), *Les Fabulistes Latins*, Paris, 1893-99.
- Herz (Joseph), *De St. Alexis*, Frankfurt, 1879.
- Herzfeld (George), *An Old English Martyrology*, *E.E.T.S. Orig. Ser.*, 1900.
- Holkot (Robertus), *Opus super Sapientiam Salomonis*, Speyer, 1483.
- Horstmann (Carl), *Barbour's Legendensammlung*, 1881-2.
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- Hugh de Saint-Victor, *Opera Omnia*, Rouen, 1648 (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, CLXXV-CLXXVII).
- Jacobus Diaconus, *Vita S. Pelagiae* (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 664).
- Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Th. Græsse, 1859.
- Jacobus a Voragine, *Legende Dorée*, trans. Jean de Vignay, Paris, Verard, 1493.

- Jacobus a Voragine, *Legende Dorte*, trans. M. G. B. (Brunet), 1843.
- Jacobus a Voragine, *Golden Legend*, trans. Caxton.
- Jacobus a Voragine, *Festialis*, comp. John Mirkus, 1495.
- Jacques de Vitry, see Crane, ed.
- Johannes Junior, *Scala Celi*, Argentinæ, 1483.
- Jubinal (Achille), *Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits, et Fabliaux*.
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- Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux ou Contes du XII^e et du XIII^e Siècle* 1781.
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- Luard (Henry R.), ed. *Flores Historiarum*, Mast. of Rolls Ser., 1890.
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- Marbodes, *Opera*, ed. Bourassé, Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, CLXXI. col. 1465.
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- Paris (Gaston), *Wilham de Wadington, Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXVIII., p. 179.
- Paris (Paulin), *Manuscripts Français*.
- Pez (Bernardus), *Ven. Agnetis Blannekin... Vita... Liber de Miraculis Sanctae... Mariae*, Vienna, 1731.
- Pilz (Oskar), *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Altfranzösischen Fabliaux*, 1889.
- Roger of Wendover, *Chronica*, ed. Hewlett, Mast. of Rolls Ser., 1886-89.
- Ruteboeuf, *Oeuvres*, ed. Jubinal, 1839.
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- Symeon of Durham, *Opera Omnia* (for *Vita S. Oswaldi*), ed. T. Arnold, Mast. of Rolls Ser., 1882.
- Thomas Becket, *Materials for the History of T. B.*, ed. J. C. Robertson, Mast. of Rolls Ser., 1875-85.
- Thomas Becket, *Thómas Saga Erkiþyskups*, ed. Magnússon, Mast. of Rolls Ser., 1875.
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- Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum Quadruplex*, Douai, 1624. (*Speculum Morale* not his, however, see E. Boutaric, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, t. XVII., p. 5.)
- Vite Patrum*, Rosweydyus, Ruffinus, etc., etc. (*Migne Patr. Cours. Lat.*, LXXIII).
- Vitas Patrum*, Caxton, Westminster, 1495.
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LIST OF UNEDITED (WHOLLY OR IN PART) MSS.
USED IN PREPARATION OF NOTES.

MSS.

Bibl. Nat. lat. 2333 A.

15267.

5268.

5562.

6845.

6845 4.4.

12593.

14463.

14464.

15913.

17491.

18134.

18168.

Bibl. Nat. fran. 375.

410 (anciens fonds, 7018⁴).

819 (anciens fonds, 7208⁴).

834 (anciens fonds, 7215³).

MSS.

Brit. Mus. Arundel 506.

" " Cott. Cleop. C. 10.

" " Cott. Cleop. D. 9.

" " " Jul. D. 9.

" " Harl. 2277.

" " " 2316.

" " Add. 11284.

" " " 26770.

Balliol College 240.

TALES AND SOURCES

- (1) Mary Magdelayne: Biblical.
- (2) The Monk who returned from death:

The officer in charge of the infirmary of an abbey of "black monks" had a friend, a "cloister monk," who was strongly attached to him. He fell mortally sick, and during a visit from his friend he promised that if he died he would return to tell how he fared, were he permitted. After his decease the friend prayed for tidings from the dead. At length, while the monk was sleeping, his fellow came back and said that he fared well through the help of the Virgin, without whose aid he should have gone to hell. The other marvelled at this, since the man had been considered holy during his lifetime. He said in reply that after death he was led to judgment before Christ and, as he stood trembling, heard devils upbraid him. He was then compelled to read the Rule of St. Benedict and to answer for each of its clauses. He would certainly have been damned but for the intercession of Mary whom he had loved in life. She besought Christ that he be sent to purgatory. So he was in a fair way to be cleansed of sin but still asked his friend to have the brothers pray for his soul.

This tale belongs to a group in which spiritualism and the worship of the Virgin are both taught. I have found some fifteen stories which obviously belong to the group, though no one reproduces every detail of any other, nor does any one contain all the characteristics which mark the group. This family can be separated, however, from the great body of stories which grew up in the twelfth century about the cult of the Virgin. It has five points which appear in various combinations through all the members of the group. (1) An agreement between two friends (monks or clerks) that the one who dies first shall appear to the survivor; (2) a return from death; (3) a message from the devil; (4) a token or mark given the living man either by friend or devil; and (5) the news of the damnation of the dead or his salvation. Beside these general traits, there are, of course, numerous minor characteristics which vary widely in the individual tales and which need not be considered in grouping the family as a whole.

On the basis of this analysis the stories which I have found arrange themselves into seven sub-families, each composed of from one to six members. I will indicate these sub-families by the first seven letters of the alphabet and under them for convenience treat each story as it falls into place.

A. This group is represented only by the version of the *Met. Hom.* Of the five points enumerated it has nos. (1), (2), (5).

B. This group has four representatives, a story in the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent de Beauvais, lib. xxv. cap. 89; another in Bozon's *Contes Moralises*, no. 93 (ed. Smith and Meyer, p. 115); a third in the collection improperly ascribed to Jacques de Vitry (see Crane, *Jacques de Vitry*, p. L.) which is contained in MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134, no. 132; fol. 237(a); and finally one in MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 141(a).

The story of Vincent de Beauvais, which is the original of Bozon's tale according to M. Meyer (Bozon, p. 269) has, however, less resemblance to it than the versions of MS. lat. 18134, and MS. lat. 15913. It omits one trait which the others have, viz., the message from the devil. The story is this: Two clerks at Nantes agree that the one who dies first shall appear to the survivor. Soon after one of them sickens, dies, and later appears to his fellow saying that he is eternally damned and showing in proof of it his hand on which was written an infernal letter. This appears under the rubric "Guillelmus in chronicis" and is said to have taken place in the reign of William Rufus.

The MS. versions (both of the XIII. century) give no date for the legend but place it "in quadam civitate britannie que nannetis vocatur." Here the clerks promise to return on the thirtieth day after death. The ghost appears as agreed and shows his friend his hand on which is written a letter of salutation from Satan to the prelates thanking them that they let their people perish. The version of Bozon is like these two except that it does not state the place where the event occurred, nor the time after death of the apparition. In none of these three is the damnation of the clerk expressly stated.

This group has, then, all the five chief points of the story, but no one member has them all.

C. This group has four representatives, a story in the *Bonum Universale de Apibus* by Cantipratanus (†1260-1280), I. 20, 8; another in a sermon by Eude de Cheriton (1st part of XIII. century) for Dom. I. post oct. Pasche (printed by Meyer, p. 269); another in *Libro de los*

Enxemplos, CXXV. (analyzed by Crane, *Jacques de Vitry*, p. 135); and finally one in the *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry* (ed. Crane, no. II., p. 1).

The story is given with the fullest detail in Cantipratanus. A clerk, disturbed at having to preach before a synod of distinguished bishops, is interviewed by the devil, who makes a mark on his face for a token and tells him to preach thus: "Principes infernalium tenebrarum principes ecclesiæ salutant, etc." The clerk did so and was believed on account of the token. The versions of Eude de Cheriton and of the *Libro de los Enxemplos* are as follows: The devil in form of a man sent a message to an archbishop by a layman (the customary letter) and as a token struck the man on his face. The devil's mark is only removed when the archbishop sprinkles it with holy water. Jacques de Vitry's version is simpler. The demon wrote to certain negligent prelates in Sicily a letter (the customary letter).

This group contains the story in its simplest form. Of the five points it has only (3) and (4) as a group, and one member (Jacques de Vitry) has only (3). Perhaps through a typographical error Professor Crane says on p. cxii of his introduction that no. 93 of Bozon corresponds to no. I. of his Jacques de Vitry collection. He means, of course, no. II. But, as we have seen, the story in Bozon belongs to a different group.

D. Of this subdivision there is but one representative, Cæsar von Heisterbach (Cistercian of the XIII. century) *Dialogus Miraculorum*, dist. I. cap. XXXII. (ed. Strange, I., p. 39). Two students of the black art at Toletus agree, when one is dying, that he shall appear to the survivor twenty days after death. On the appointed day the friend sat in a church reading psalms before the image of Mary for the dead man's soul. The latter appeared, told his friend that he himself was damned, and counselled him to enter the Cistercian order whence fewest souls come to hell.

Here we have points (1), (2) and (5), though they are somewhat obscured by the different dressing of the tale.

E. This group has two representatives, one of which is repeated with little variation in a great number of medieval collections. This is the story of the dissolute monk at Pavia, found in Mielot, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, no. 11 (ed. Roxb. Club, p. 11), Étienne de Bourbon (*Anecdotes d'Étienne de Bourbon*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, p. 99), MS. Balliol 240 (no. 25), etc. The other representative is found in *Scala Celi* of Johannes Junior, *De predicatore*, fol. 139(a).

The former story is this: A dissolute monk at Pavia died, and a year after death appeared to his friend the sacristan, telling him that he had been in torment but was now released, because of his devotion to the Virgin, and that he was going to heaven. It will be seen that this has all the essential features of the *Met. Hom.* story, barring the agreement before death.

The latter tale (that of *Scala Celi*) is slightly different. A preacher appeared to a companion after death and told him that he had been seized by two sorts of devils but had been released by Jesus Christ. This is referred to Cæsar, but is not the story referred to von Heisterbach under D.

This subdivision has only characteristics (2) and (5).

F. This subdivision has two representatives, from *Le Manuel des Pechiez* by William of Wadington and from the translation of that treatise by Robert of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne* (ed. Furnivall, p. 72). A knight who has robbed a poor man of a rich cloth dies. After death he appears to a friend and asks him to relieve him of the pain of the cloth, which lies upon him like a mountain. The friend proposes several priests who will 'sing' him out of pain, but the ghost says that all these are unclean. At last the friend suggests a good priest, and the dead man agrees. He marks the thigh of his friend so that the bone shows but does not hurt him. The living friend afterwards goes on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

With all its curious dress this story has plainly points (2) and (4). Again as in A and B the token is given by the dead man rather than by a devil.

G. There is but one representative of this subdivision. It occurs in Herolt, *Sermones de Tempore*, Sermo 160. A friend promises a sick man to say a mass for his soul immediately after he dies. The friend does so, but the dead appears reproaching him with delaying twenty years. The friend tells the ghost that his body is not yet buried, so they conclude that the pains of purgatory are severe. This curious tale, which is the converse of that of Monk Felix (see no. 29) has characteristics (1) and (2), though the agreement before death is of an unusual kind and the return from death for a different purpose.

On account of the great freedom with which this family of stories has been treated it is impossible to tell whence our author took his version. A probable conjecture would be that he found it in some collection of Mary legends, the compiler of which had changed the

ending of the story as told in B (*e. g.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134) to suit the nature of his book.

The following table shows the relationship of the various subdivisions :
Groups which have :

(1) Agreement before death.	(2) Appearance after death.	(3) Message from devil.	(4) Token given by ghost or devil.	(5) Damnation or salvation of dead.
A	A			A
B	B	B	B	B
		C	C	
D	D			D
	E			E
	F		F	
G	G			

(3) Death of John Baptist: Biblical.

(4) The Pilgrim to St. James:

A certain man, on the day when he was going to set out on a pilgrimage to St. James, made a feast to his relatives and friends. In the gaiety of the occasion he fell into deadly sin with a woman and forthwith went his way. The fiend, who had caused him to sin, met him in the likeness of St. James and asked where he was going. He told him. The devil said: "I ame saynt Jame þt spekes wiþ þe . . . þi uiage es noyt worthe a leke." He further commanded the pilgrim to castrate and slay himself if he wished to go to heaven. When this was done, the fiend took the soul and made off toward hell but was met by Saint Peter and Saint James. The latter demanded the soul on the ground that the pilgrim thought he was serving him in his crime. The dispute was by the advice of Peter taken before Mary for arbitration. She decided that it was only just that the man return to life to cleanse his sins through penance. To this the devil sorrowfully agreed, so the man revived, became a monk, and a devout servant of Our Lady. He carried the marks of his deed till he died. This story he told his abbot. His name was Gerard.

This is one of the most wide-spread legends of the Middle Ages. It is found with slight variations in almost innumerable collections of Mary legends, of exempla, and of pious treatises. It is usually referred to St. Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, who lived from 1023 to 1108. Unfortunately none of his writings are extant save a few letters. Whether we

must believe that this Hugo first told the story seems somewhat doubtful in view of the fact that a very similar tale is in many cases told together with it, but attributed to Hugh of St. Victor. Yet that it came into popular notice through Hugh of Cluny admits of little doubt. All things considered, one can safely say that the legend arose in the south of France. Though it was well known in England through ecclesiastical writings it continued to be peculiarly a French legend. In France it was immensely popular, as is proved by the fact that scenes from it were carved on the outside of several cathedrals. The south portal of Nôtre-Dame de Paris and the cathedral at Soissons are examples of this.

The pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostella in Galicia was a very popular one, as is witnessed by many references in medieval writings. See the reference in Chaucer's *Prologue*, v. 465, and in Langland's *Piers Plowman* (ed. Skeat, C. Pass. I. v. 48). The sign of the pilgrimage was a scallop-shell (Chamber's *Book of Days*, I., 338), just as the cross was the sign of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. There are several other legends related of pilgrims to this shrine.

The attention of scholars was drawn to the legend by publication of an abstract in the collection of Le Grand d'Aussy (*Fabliaux et Contes*, vol. V., p. 58). For the literature of the subject the work of Mussafia is invaluable, especially for the MS. versions. See *Studien zu den mittelalt. Marienlegenden*, I., p. 10. He has, however, made no general classification, nor has he examined all the versions which he cites. I have examined about twenty-five examples of the legend, several of which were unknown to him. I shall class them for convenience under the following divisions.

A. Among the works formerly attributed to Anselm of Canterbury is a *Miraculum Grande Sancti Jacob* (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, CLIX., col. 337). As a version of the eleventh century, and probably the representative of the group which stands nearest the original form it deserves careful analysis. A young tailor of Lyons (Ludunensis) named Giraldus, the son of a widow and himself a bachelor, planned to make a pilgrimage to St. James. Before his departure he made a feast and lay with a woman. None the less he set out with two companions. They overtook a mendicant pilgrim who joined them. After a few days the devil "in humana forma satis honesta," appeared to Giraldus and reproached him that he had set out without confession. The youth determined to go back, when the devil appeared

again as St. James and counselled him to unsex himself. Giraldus argued that if he did so he must kill himself also. To this the devil agreed, and ironically added that he would be at hand with his angels to conduct the soul to paradise. That night, while his companions slept, the youth mutilated and stabbed himself. His friends awoke and fled, for fear of being accused of murder. While the people of the inn were preparing the body for burial the dead man revived and told his tale as in the *Met. Hom.* except that Mary is said to have been seated over St. Peter's at Rome. After resting for three days the pilgrim proceeded on his way, met his companions, and told them the story. They reported it at his home. On his return Hugh of Cluny and many others saw him with all the signs of his experience about him. This version is treated by Mussafia, *Studien zu mitteltalt. Marienlegenden*, I., p. 17, who states that it is found in "Sermo de conceptione B. M." by Anselm. There is a story of a pilgrim in that sermon, but it is altogether independent of this.

Another very early version of the legend is that contained in MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 14464 as no. 5 of a collection of miracles attributed to Calixtus. The authenticity of this attribution to Calixtus II. has been disproved like that to Anselm in the version above. See *Hist. litt. de la France*, X., p. 532. Yet as Calixtus died in 1124, and the version attributed to him was certainly written by some contemporary of his, it must be nearly of the same period as St. Hugh of Cluny. It does not greatly differ from the spurious Anselm. The youth was accustomed to go each year to the shrine of St. James. The three pilgrims took with them an ass, with which the friends made off after the suicide. The dispute between the apostles and the devil is given in great detail as well as the trial before the Virgin. She is curiously described as of medium height and fair complexion. A translation of this version is found in MS. Bibl. Nat. fran. 834, fol. 13(a). The MS. is of the late 13th or early 14th cent., but the translation was first made at Beauvais in 1212, at the command of Comtesse Yolent de Saint-Pol, by a certain Pierre in the time of "Phillipe le puissant vesque de beauvais" (cf. P. Paris, *Manuscrits français*, VI., p. 393). It is curious that this translation should bear the title (Translation de Saint-Jacques) of one of the four supposedly spurious sermons of Calixtus (see Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, CLXIII., col. 1365, also *Hist. litt.* above cited) and at the same time should contain the miracles (in translation) of the collection contained in MS. lat. 14464.

Vincent of Beauvais, who made his compilation about the middle of the 13th cent., apparently took his version of the legend from this so-called Calixtus, though he refers only to St. Hugh. The only variation which he makes is that he does not name the pilgrim.

Only a little later in date is the version of Jacobus Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. XCIX. (ed. Graesse, p. 427), who gives the story immediately after a similar one attributed to Hugh of St. Victor, of which I shall speak later. This version belongs with the pseudo-Calixtus and the Vincentius. The trade of the pilgrim is not mentioned, nor the fact that he supported his widowed mother. As in Vincent he is not named. The story occurs in the French translation made at the end of that century by Jean de Vignay, fol. 126(a). It is also found in Caxton's *Golden Legend*, which was translated from de Vignay.

In the *Alphab. Narr.* of Étienne de Besançon, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 43(a), the stories attributed to Hugh of St. Victor and Hugh of Cluny are given in the same order as by Voragine. The legend of the pilgrim is here told very briefly, but appears to be from the same source, if not from Voragine himself. It makes this change however in regard to the sin. The pilgrim is spoken of as "in itinere fornicanti."

B. This group is well represented by a version in MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134, fol. 88(b), *Libellum de Beata Virgine Maria*, no. 132. Giraldus, a monk of Cluny, according to St. Hugh, while still a layman prepared to make the pilgrimage to St. James. Before departure he lay with his mistress, then set out accompanied by his friends. When he had gone a little way he was met by the devil. The rest of the events follow the order in *Met. Hom.*, except that the judgment seat of the Virgin was over St. Peter's.

The legend is found with only slight verbal difference from the above in many other *Miracula Virginis*. The MSS. in the following list are of the 12th and the 13th centuries, and vary little in form of this legend which they give.

MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 14463,	fol. 13(b),	Mir. Vir. no. 18.
" " " " 5267,	fol. 30(a),	" " no. 8, p. ii.
" " " " " "	fol. 54(b),	" " no. 6, p. iii.
" " " " 17491,	fol. 39(a),	" " no. 15, p. ii.
" " " " 2333A,	fol. 31(b).	
" " " " 5268,	fol. 22(b),	" " no. 26.
" " " " 18168,	fol. 84(b).	
" " " " 5562,	fol. 28(a),	no. 30.

MS. Brit. Mus. Cott. Cleop.¹ C 10, fol. 120(b), lib. II. no. 8.

“ “ “ Arundel 346, fol. 62(a), no. 7.

“ Balliol College 240, no. 21.

It appeared in this form as no. 61 in the fifteenth century prose translation, contained by MS. Bibl. Nat. fran. 410, fol. 34(a).

C. There is a prolix version in rhymed Latin verse, written by Gaiferius Casinensis about 1060. Printed by Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.* CXLVII., col. 1285. A simple youth—not named—of Lyons fell into sin on the way to St. James, was easily deluded, etc. The companions are barely mentioned. This version seems to have an independent origin.

D. Another early version which stands by itself is that of Guibert de Nogent († 1124), *De Vita Sua*, lib. III., cap. 18 (ed. Luc d'Archery, p. 521, also printed by Poquet, *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, p. 290). A young man, not named, had been living in sin with a woman. Afterwards he started on a pilgrimage to St. James but unfortunately carried with him the girdle of the woman. He was met by the devil in disguise, and commanded to mutilate and kill himself. While his companions pray beside the corpse at the inn he revives and tells the usual story. The author says that he had the tale from an old monk Joffredus (*Samurensis . . . castri et aliorum castrorum in Burgundia dominus fuit*), who said that he had it from the man himself.

E. A slightly different version is the metrical one of Gautier de Coincy who died before the middle of the thirteenth century. Printed by Poquet, p. 292, and by Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, p. 147, though the latter gives neither author nor manuscript. St. “Hue de Clingni” is the authority. A rich man of Bourgogne, warmed by wine, sinned with a woman. He was disconcerted, but after mass next morning started on a pilgrimage to St. James. He is represented as simple and easily deluded, like the youth in C. Further course of events as in *Met. Hom.*

F. The story attributed to Hugh of St. Victor, above referred to, is this. A pilgrim is persuaded by the devil in the likeness of St. James to kill himself for the sake of obtaining heavenly bliss. The man at whose house he was staying is accused of murder but saved by the pilgrim's resurrection. The latter relates that he was snatched from the devil by St. James who prevailed upon God to send him back to

¹ Cited by Mussafia as Cleop. 20.

earth. The pilgrim is not named, and there is no mutilation. This occurs in *Legenda Aurea*, cap XCIX. (ed. Graesse, p. 427), and in *Alphabetum Narrationum*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 43(a). With a slight variation it is also found in the 14th century, *Scala Celi*, by Johannes Junior, De peregrinatione, fol. 136(a). The pilgrim kills himself, at the devil's instigation, to escape the perils of the world. There is no reference to suspicions attaching to the host. The pilgrim revives among his weeping companions.

The place of the *Met. Hom.* version among these groups seems to be with B. At first sight it would be natural to say that our author found the legend in Voragine, where a large number of his tales are also told, but internal evidence points to the former view. Gerard seems to be a stock name for pilgrims. It occurs again in story of a pilgrim to St. Thomas found in *Alph. Narr.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 68(b), and in *Scala Celi*, fol. 136(b).

(5) Saint Martin and the Devil :

In the life of St. Martin it is written that while he was at prayer the fiend came to him in the form of a king. The devil said that he was Christ and urged the Saint to worship him. But Martin through grace knew that it was the fiend and meekly answered that not till death should he see the Lord. At this meek reply the devil disappeared in smoke.

The original of this legend is found in the life of St. Martin of Tours by Sulpicius Severus, lib. I., par. 24 (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Latr.*, XX., col. 174). The ending differs from our version. "Non se, inquit, Jesus Dominus purpuratum et diademate renitentem venturum esse prædixit. Ego Christum, nisi in eo habitu formaque qua passus est, nisi stigmata præferentem, venisse non credam." Severus says that Martin told him about this !

Ælfric tells the story in his life of St. Martin. See *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, hom. XXXI. cap. XXV., II., p. 266.

(6) St. Anthony and the Snares :

St. Anthony was so meek that he vanquished the fiends. Once he saw the earth spread with snares and traps wherewith were baited men's souls. He asked God what thing was safe from these nets and was told "mekenes allane."

This anecdote comes from the *Vitae Patrum*, lib. III. or *Verba Seniorum*, by Ruffinus (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 785).

The voice of God said to Anthony: "Humilitas sola pertransit, Antoni, quam nullo modo valent superbi contingere." The incident is not given in the *Vita S. Anthoni* by St. Athanasius of Alexandria.

It is told by Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. XIV., cap. 14; by Paraldus, the Dominican, in his *Summa Virtutum ac Vitiatorum*, lib. I. (ed. Bâle, 1497, fol. 101(a)); and in the middle of the following century (XIV.) by Johannes Junior, *Scala Celi*, De Humilitate (ed. Ulm, 1483, fol. 92(b)). Jean de Vignay gives it in his *Legende Dorée* (ed. Verard, 1493, fol. 34(a)), but it does not appear in the modern editions of his original, Voragine.

There seems to be no way to decide whence our author took the legend. Indisputably he had access to the *Vitae Patrum*, and probably he knew Vincent of Beauvais.

(7) St. Machary:

One day the fiend met Machary and said that he was unable to strike him with sin because, though he exceeded the hermit in penance, fasting, and watching, the latter surpassed him in meekness. Machary lived in a hermitage near a great city, whence he had fled, and was served by another hermit. He was accustomed to go into the city to sell his handiwork. A citizen's daughter being with child by a clerk accused the hermit in order to shield her lover. Her friends beat Machary about the market-place, and only released him on the suretyship of his friend. So he returned to his cell and worked hard at his craft in order to send the wench money. At length, when the time of her confinement came, she was not released from travail till she had confessed the truth. But Machary fled from the praise accorded him.

This story—really two illustrations of St. Machary's humility—comes from the *Vitae Patrum*. It is printed twice by Migne in its double form, once in lib. III. or *Verba Seniorum* by Ruffinus, and again in lib. V., libellus XV. (*Migne Patrol. Cur. Lat.*, LXXXIII., col. 778 and col. 958). Both these versions differ from that of *Met. Hom.* in making Macharius tell the story himself. They also explain the presence of the saint's attendant by saying that he was a layman of religious life; and they differ from the *Met. Hom.* version in the form of punishment which the saint suffered. John Herolt, the Dominican writer who lived in the first half of the XV. century, prints the version of Ruffinus word for word in his *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, P, ex. 6.

I have found no English version except that of Caxton in his translation, *Vitas Patrum*. This follows the Latin closely, though translated out of French. (Caxton, *Vitas Patrum*, fol. 195.)

The first part appears by itself in several compilations: Vincent of Beauvais († 1264) gives it in his *Speculum Historiale*, lib. XIV., cap. 18; Paraldus in his *Summa Virtutum ac Vitiatorum*, lib. I., fol. 161(a); Herolt in the *Prompt. Exemp.* H, ex. 7; Jacques de Voragine in *Legenda Aurea*, cap. XVIII. (ed. Graesse, p. 100); Odo de Ceritona in *Parabolae*, Dom. I. post Oct. Pasche (ed. Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, tome IV., p. 289). In Caxton's *Vitas Patrum*, fol. 93, it is again referred to under the life of St. Jerome.

(8) *The Archbishop and the Nun* :

A certain archbishop had jurisdiction over a nunnery situate five miles from his seat. Thither the nuns came, according to custom, to take the veil. On one such occasion, as he sang the mass, he cast his eye on a maiden and lusted for her. When the nuns were gone he could neither eat nor sleep, but sent letters to the abbess, summoning her to him on pretence of business. He told her that she must send him the nun who was there the day before. She was horrified at his request, but was under obligations to him for her position and fearful of his displeasure. So she acceded and persuaded the nun to give her body up for the good of the convent. (Here follows a long moralizing interlude.) The bishop soon repented, lamented at great length, did secret penance, and refused to see his people. At length a mob threatened to break down the palace doors if he did not appear. So he went out and spoke with them, and was compelled by his friends to eat and drink. Yet he was still uncleansed and would not perform his offices. Finally he promised to sing the mass on a great day, but when the day came he began to preach to the great congregation instead and told all his sins, saying that he would no longer be bishop. He threw off his robes and ran out from the church. Soon he met a woman carrying an infant. The child spoke to him through the Holy Ghost and bade him turn back, for his sins were forgiven. Yet he ran on, disbelieving the words of the child. Then he met an angel who commanded him to return and sing the mass. So he went back and became a holy man.

(I have found no original for this story.)

(9) The Three Kings: Biblical.

(10) St. John and the Boy:

When holy church was new St. John was busy ordaining priests and clerks and bishops. Once when he came to visit a church he found a fair boy, but untrained and wild, whom he took to the bishop to be cared for. The bishop baptized and trained the boy, who nevertheless fell among bad companions and became the chief of a band of robbers underwood. Then St. John came again and asked the bishop for his treasure. He was grieved at what he learned and after reproaching the bishop set out to seek the youth. The robbers started toward St. John as he drew near their retreat, but their chief fled in shame. John pursued him calling, and when he overtook him he promised him forgiveness for his sins. The man repented and became so good that "all men had grete ioye of hyme."

This legend is found in the *Liber quis dives salvetur*, by Clement of Alexandria (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Græca*, IX., col. 647), where it occurs in a life of St. John the Apostle. The events are said to have happened after the return of St. John from Patmos. The name of the city is given as Ephesus which gives a clue to the rise of the legend. There was another John, bishop of Ephesus in the third century, who has often been confused, as in this tale, with the apostle of that name. Undoubtedly this is an anecdote from his life. Clement's mistake was perpetuated by several writers. Vincent of Beauvais gives the legend in the same form, *Speculum Historiale*, lib. X., cap. 42, referring it to Clemens Alexandrinus and to Eusebius. The reference to the latter I have been unable to verify, as the legend does not seem to exist in the printed works of any Eusebius. The legend occurs again in *Speculum Morale* (usually printed as the work of Vincent), lib. I., dist. 10, pars. 4, which refers it to *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. III., cap. 23. Presumably our author found the legend in the slightly later compilation *Legenda Aurea*, by Jacobus a Voragine, cap. IX. (ed. Graesse, p. 60). Here it is referred to Clemens, *Ecclesiastica Historia*, lib. IV.

The legend bears some likeness to another which is told without names of persons or places. A certain abbot, wishing to convert a robber chief, went out to his hiding-place. When surrounded by the robbers he offered the chief his horse and all his possessions if they had need of them. After some parley he asked the chief why they continued to live by violence when he would feed them all without return if they would come to his monastery. The incredulous chief

consented to try the proposal and was sumptuously entertained ; but at the same time he saw the abbot and monks living abstemiously in the midst of plenty. So he was converted. See the so-called Jacques de Vitry collection, no. 62 (MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134, fol. 200(a); the *Alphabetum Narr.* by Étienne de Besançon (MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 2(b) ; John Herolt, *Sermones de Tempore*, no. 51, p. 301 ; and Bromyard, *Summa Praedicatorum*, E. VII. The last three all refer to Jacques de Vitry and are evidently based upon the pseudo-Jacques mentioned above. T. Wright in *Latin Stories*, no. 149, p. 135, prints a version from MS. Arundel 506, fol. 48(a), which does not refer to Jacques, but which is essentially the same.

In MS. Balliol 240, no. 6 of the collection, is still another story of a robber saved by a holy man. It concerns Odo, Abbot of Cluny, and a man who afterwards became cellarer.

(11) The Birth of St. Thomas of Cawntirbiry :

Before St. Thomas of Cawntirbiry was born his mother dreamed that all the water of the Thames was running through her bosom. She told her dream to a good man, and he explained it thus. He said your child shall make many men to sin and shall suffer sorrow. This water flowed spiritually when St. Thomas shed his blood for the love of Jesus.

This dream of Thomas' mother is told in the early life of the saint by Edward Grim (Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, II., p. 356). After the dream she consults two wise men. One tells her : "Nasciturus ex te reget populos multos." "Et alter quidam, in nullo dissidens a prioris sententia, adjecit quod fluenta gratiarum esset accepturus, quibus natale solum instar fluminis irrigaret." There is also another vision given by Grim. Thomas' mother dreamed that her womb was so enlarged that she could not enter the church. This latter is given again in the life by William Fitz-Stephen and by the writer whom Robertson calls "Anonymous II." The dream about the Thames occurs again in the life "Anonymous I." (Robertson, IV., p. 3).

Other early biographers do not have the story, as far as I have been able to find out.

A variant of the legend appears in the Icelandic saga, *Thomas Saga Erkibyskups* (ed. Magnússon, I., p. 13). In this the Thames flowed "so close to the woman that it caught her sark," and the wise men said, "that living water would flow from her womb" (trans. Magnússon). The other vision is also told.

The source of the story in the *Met. Hom.* may have been one of the numerous biographies of St. Thomas which were written soon after his death. Or our author may have had the legend by word of mouth. Since it did not find its way into the great collection of exempla there is difficulty in judging whence our author took it. A similar story is told by William of Malmesbury concerning the mother of Æthelwold. While she was pregnant a golden eagle was seen to fly from her mouth. *Gesta Pontificum* (ed. Hamilton, p. 166). Somewhat similar is the vision of Evelac in the Grail saga, according to which he dreamed that nine streams flowed from the belly of Celidoine, eight of them equal in size, the ninth larger than all the others put together. This is later interpreted to the king as designating Galahad. See, for example, Hucher, *Le Saint Graal*, II., p. 323.

(12) Gyezi and Naaman : Biblical.

(13) The Usurious Knight :

Beyond the sea lived a bishop named Piers, and near him a man who had won wealth and knighthood through usury. Nor did these practices cease when he became knight. He passed his time in hunting and in his business. Through the grace of Christ he became penitent and confessed to the bishop. For penance the bishop told him that he must give to a beggar whom he should meet whatever he asked. Well pleased by this light command, the knight went out, met the beggar, replied to his request for alms by asking what he wished, and granted him the quarter of corn which he demanded. But the poor man had no sack and so had to sell his alms to the knight for five shillings, since the latter would lend him no sack. The knight put the wheat in a chest, and when he looked at it on the third day he found the chest full of snakes and reptiles. In fear he fled to the bishop and asked what to do. The bishop commanded him to throw himself naked into the chest that he might save his soul. This he did, and the vermin ate his body. But the bishop came in procession, and leaped scatheless among the reptiles, and took out the holy bones snow-white. These were honourably buried in a nunnery where they heal the sick.

This is the variant of a tale found in two Latin compilations of the XIII. century, the one by Étienne de Bourbon († 1261) and the other by Cæsar von Heisterbach (a Cistercian who wrote early in that century).

In Étienne de Bourbon, *Liber de Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti* (p. 368, *Anecdotes historiques. . . . du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche) it appears in this form: A usurer, being sick, wished rather to give some grain to the poor than to restore his illgotten wealth. This corn he put into a chest. His servants soon after found it turned into serpents. The usurer, therefore, restored his unrighteous gains and commanded that his dead body should be thrown to the serpents. This was done. "Quidam addunt quod evanuerunt serpentes, et remanserunt ossa alba et nuda cum lumine."

In Cæsar von Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, dist. II., cap. XXXII. (ed. Strange, I., p. 106), the tale concerns a man buried in the church of St. Gereon at Cologne. A certain usurer was penitent, confessed, and was bidden to enclose his gains in a great chest. When he opened it he found it full of reptiles, and was told by his confessor that by this he could see how much God liked the alms of usurers. At the command of the priest he threw himself naked among the vipers. The priest closed the chest and returned the next day when he found the bones, which are buried at the door of St. Gereon's and prevent all reptiles from entering there. This version is given and referred to Cæsar in the *Scala Celi* of Johannes Junior (cir. 1350), *De usura*, fol. 151(b); also in *Jacob's Well*, chap. XXXII. (ed. Brandeis, p. 209). Both these versions follow Cæsar closely.

It is obvious that the version of the *Met. Hom.*, though it exactly corresponds to neither of these, approaches more nearly the second than the first. Our tale is told with more detail and especially adds the effective incident of the sack, yet it seems probable that it owes its origin at least indirectly to Cæsar von Heisterbach. That he was known in England, though by no means the most popular ecclesiastical compiler of his time, is shown by numerous references in *Jacob's Well* to which I have referred above.

(14) The Devil as Physician :

A hermit who dwelt in the desert once saw the devil going by along the road and bearing many painted boxes like a leech. The fiend was bound to an abbey which stood near, and so he told the hermit who asked his purpose. He said he would tempt the brothers with drinks from the boxes, with gluttony, envy, with lechery, or with some other. The hermit let the fiend go and bade him return that way. The devil had little power at the abbey, and on his return he said that only Theotist would do his will. So the hermit

went to the abbey, to the great joy of the monks. He asked after Theotist, and when he met him he demanded whether he was tempted with fleshly lust. The young man said no. Then the hermit said that that was strange because even he, now an old man, was not free from it. So Theotist confessed that he was direfully tempted and was instructed by his elder. Soon after the hermit saw the fiend going to the abbey but full soon returning with lamentation that no longer had he power even over Theotist who was now stoutest against him.

This is a legend from the *Vitae Patrum* where it is told three times. In lib. III., par. 61 (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 769); in lib. V. (Pelagius), libellus 18, par. 9 (Migne, LXXIII., col. 981); and in lib. VII. (Paschasius), cap. I. (Migne, LXXIII., col. 1027). The devil while journeying to Macarius' hermits, meets that saint. All these versions omit the ruse by which in the *Met. Hom.* Macarius prevailed upon the young hermit to confess. The young man is named Theopemptus, Theoctistus, and Theopistus in the several versions. In all three versions, as indeed in all I have found except the *Met. Hom.*, phials and not boxes form the devil's luggage. In no other, also, is the fiend compared to a physician. Caxton's *Vitas Patrum* attributes the legend to Jerome, but Gregory and Jerome were to all mediæval writers convenient names to use when no better offered.

The version of the *Met. Hom.* appears to come from the *Speculum Morale* (usually printed without due cause as part of the *Speculum Magnum* of Vincent of Beauvais); see *Spec. Mor.*, lib. III., dist. XIV., pars X. With the exception of the differences above named this is in all respects like the *Met. Hom.* The name of the young monk is Theotistus.

Other examples are: Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. XIV., cap. 18, where only the first part of the story is given; Jacobus a Voragine, *Leg. Aur.*, cap. XVIII. (ed. Graesse, p. 101), a brief form with all the conversation between Machary and Theotist omitted; the early translation of the preceding by Jean de Vignay, ed. Verard, fol. 33(a); Étienne de Besançon, *Alph. Narr.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 82(a), where the young monk's name is not mentioned, nor his conversation with Macarius; Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, T, ex. 14, which is most like *Vitae Patrum*, lib. III., par. 61; an English version in *Jacob's Well*, chap. XVII. (ed. Brandeis, p. 115), which is referred to the *Vitae Patrum* but is most like *Alph. Narr.* except

that the unnamed young hermit drank from six of the devil's cruets, "evil thoughts, sleeping, jangling, idleness, laziness, and lust"; *Magnum Spec. Exemp.* (Duaci, 1603), *Dæmon*, no. 10, exemp. CLXXXV., which is very like the *Spec. Morale*, but is referred to a *Liber de Praevidentia*, no. 11, of which I know nothing.

A variant of the legend is given by Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane, no. LXXV. p. 34). In this St. Macharius saw a devil, completely covered with phials, who said he saw going to visit the hermits of the desert. On his return the saint saw that all the phials were empty and learned that one monk had drunk the whole, the others resisting. This is to be found in precisely the same form in the pseudo-Vitry collection of MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134, fol. 201(b), as no. 65.

A similar tale is related in the life of St. Godric, Hermit of Finchale (ed. Surtees Society, p. 248). A certain youth who served a man of God saw a huge man approach his master and try to make the saint drink of the bottles with which he was covered. The holy man finally told the servant to sprinkle the tempter with holy water, but on no account to pursue him outside the church. The young man then chased the devil to the door, but he was so eager that he went outside and thus was burned by the liquor that the fiend threw at him.

(15) The Hermit who Returned to the World :

We find written of a hermit who lived long in the service of God that Satan came to him in the desert as a messenger from his mother and friends. The fiend said that they besought him to return to look after the property which his father had left at his death. By this lie the hermit was persuaded to go home. There he found his father alive and was ashamed that he had been so deceived. But the world's wealth soon made him forget his shame, and he stayed so long at home that he took a wife and died in the devil's service.

(I have not found other references to this legend.)

(16) The Monk Mawryne :

A rich man who had become a monk of most holy life was disturbed because he had left his daughter in the world under the care of friends. His abbot saw that he was troubled and asked his reason. He told his superior that he had a son named Mawryne whom he would fain make religious. The abbot told him that he would receive the boy if he were good. So the monk went after his daughter, clad her like a boy, and instructed her to let no one know her sex. She was shaven monk and called Friar Mawryne. She dwelt in her father's cell and

became very holy, so that at his death she lived there alone and was greatly esteemed. It happened that the monks were enlarging their abbey and sent Mawryne in charge of a cart to a distant quarry. There she lay a night at the house of a brewster. Now it happened that a swain had lain with the daughter of the brewster. When she was seen to be with child she told her friends that Mawryne had undone her. They accused Mawryne to the abbot, and she for the love of Christ would not deny the crime. She was driven with bitter words from the abbey and sat outside the gate where she was fed with bread and water. Thither, when it was weaned, the brewster's daughter brought her child which Mawryne cared for during two winters. When she had lived thus in penance for five years the monks took pity on her humility and begged the abbot that she be admitted again to the abbey. So she was fetched and made scullion and slave of the convent. Soon after she died, and when the monks went to wash the body before burying it in unhallowed ground they found that Mawryne was woman. The abbot bewailed and commanded that she should be buried in great honour. The brewster's daughter went mad but was healed at the saint's tomb by the will of God.

Horstmann (Herrig's *Archiv*, LVII., p. 259 ff.) has printed this narrative from MS. Vernon, where it appears as part of the expanded collection of these homilies.

St. Marina or Maria (the names are used indiscriminately to describe her) was one of the numerous holy women of the early church who lived lives of rigorous piety by passing themselves off as men. Pelagia (see no. 43) pursued the same course. Marina's festival is July 17th, or February 12th in the Greek Church. Under the former date in the *Acta Sanct.*, and in Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 691, is printed the account of the saint from Rosweyd's *Vitae Patrum*, lib. I. This is probably the source of our version. Gering, *Islendzk Æventyri*, 1882-3, II., p. 127 ff. treats the history of the legend, distinguishing two groups, both of which go back to an original Greek form: (A) version printed in Migne, *Patr. Curs. Græca*, CXV., 347; and (B) that of the *Acta Sanct.* mentioned above. The former differs from the latter in making the daughter follow her father to the monastery of her own will; in making her exile from the abbey three years instead of five, etc.

To type (A) belong the version in Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, XV., 94, and the Icelandic version printed by Gering, I., p. 149 ff.

To type (B) belong the majority of the versions preserved, as for example :

Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. LXXXIV. (ed. Graesse, p. 353).

¹ Jean de Vignay, fol. 104(b) (ed. 1493).

Étienne de Besançon, *Alph. Narr.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 5(a).

Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, P, ex. 7.

Caxton, *Vitas Patrum*, fol. 71.

Met. Hom.

MS. Harl., 2253, printed by Bøddeker, *Altenglische Dichtungen des MS. Harl. 2253*, 1878, p. 253 ff.; by Horstmann, *Sammlung altenglischer Legenden*, 1878, p. 170 ff.

The two versions last named are very similar in form ; and as Kölbing, *Engl. St.*, II., 509, has already pointed out they agree with each other in some points where they disagree with the version of *Acta Sanct.* Kölbing concludes that the version contained in the Vernon MS. was made from a Latin form nearly allied to that of *Acta Sanct.* but not identical with it. As will be seen by reference to the table in Part I., pp. 8 and 9, Bøddeker's supposition (p. 255) that the story of Marina is not contained in the Camb. MSS. is altogether incorrect.

A story attaching to St. Theodora is most similar to this of Mawryne. She was living as a monk under the name of Theodore and was actually solicited by the girl who afterward accused her. The sex of the saint was revealed to the abbot in a dream.

Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. XCII. (ed. Graesse, p. 397). For the general origin of the Marina-Pelagia-Theodore story see no. 43.

(17) Saint Bernard and the Peasant :

We find written that St. Bernard, on his way to a city on business from his abbey, once greeted a tillman and asked him what was his prayer. The man said that he knew only the Pater Noster. Then the saint asked, "What pinkes þou godeman all waies, When þou þi pater noster sayes?" The man said he thought always of Christ. Then said Bernard, "Full well es þe pt so maie do For so ne fares it noȝt of me." The peasant said that was strange, for a monk should not let his thoughts stray more than a tillman. So the saint promised him his palfrey if he could say Pater Nosters all the day without an evil thought. The man was glad and soon began his prayer, but

before he had said three words he wondered whether he would get both saddle and bridle with the palfrey. Again he tried, but again failed. And St. Bernard who knew his thoughts gave him nothing.

This legend, which is perhaps related to the celebrated *fabliau* "Les Souhais de Saint Martin" with the numberless affiliated tales associated with it (cf. J. Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, p. 177, for discussion of these related stories), is found with certain variations in several collections of exempla: Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CXX. (ed. Graesse, p. 534); Johannes Junior, *Scala Celi*, fol. 33(b). Both these versions mention St. Bernard. Herolt in *Prompt. Exemp.*, O, 22, gives a version where a priest takes the place of the saint. Another variant is found in the pseudo-Vitry collection of MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134, no. 12, fol. 182(a). Here one friend offers another his horse if he can say a Pater Noster without thinking of something else. He falls the victim to the thought of the saddle as in our version.

Bernard appears in a similar story in the *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 170 (ed. Oesterley, p. 560), where he wagers his horse at dice against the soul of a "lusor." He wins by throwing eighteen with three dice against his opponent's seventeen.

In *Romania*, XIII., p. 30, J. Ulrich prints an old Italian legend of St. Bernard and a demoniac, and refers it to Jacobus a Voragine as above. But the story is altogether different.

(18) Saint Eustace:

A knight named Placidus lived in Rome. He was of good life but knew not Christianity. He had great power under Trajan and was a general of renown. He had a wife of noble birth and life, and they had two young sons. While hunting one day with his knights he saw a herd of deer in a wood and pursued a noble hart so fast and long that he outdistanced all his men. At length the hart leaped up a cliff, where he could not follow, and there stood. As Placidus gazed he saw a crucifix between the beast's horns, and he fell down in fear at the sight. At last he rose and looked again. The hart spoke to him and said that he was the Lord, the Creator of all things, who had been crucified. Many more things he told the knight and commanded him to become a Christian and to come thither again. So Placidus rode home with his followers and told his wife of the happening. About midnight they rose and went with their sons to the bishop who dwelt secretly at Rome. Placidus was then baptized as Eustace, his wife as Theophiste, and their sons as Theotist and Agapiton. The next day

Eustace sought the cliff again, and there was instructed by Christ that he should be tempted and should suffer at the hands of Satan like Job, but that he should be delivered. He returned home and was comforted by his wife. Soon after they began to suffer and lost all their servants and wealth. When for shame they could no longer live in Rome they went forth and lived as laborers in a neighboring country. The Emperor and the people when they found that they were gone sorrowed at their loss. Later Eustace took ship at a port and crossed the sea. The shipmaster was pleased with the lady and would not let her go, but God kept her from stain. So grieving at the loss of his wife Eustace went on with his children. While bearing them across a river one at a time he lost them both, for they were borne away by a wolf and a lion, he being in midstream. But some laborers saved the children and cared for them as their own. Ignorant of all this, and sorely cast down, Eustace went to a town and served a man faithfully for more than fifteen winters, while near by dwelt his sons and his wife, who supported herself as a seamstress. It happened that the Emperor was in sore need of Eustace as a general and sent into all countries to seek him. Two knights came where he was but did not recognize their old master. They inquired for Placidus. He said he knew no such man but brought them to his master's house. As he served them one of them noticed that he wept, and at last they saw a resemblance in him to Placidus. They proved their suspicion correct by looking at his ear which they knew had once been wounded. With tears of joy they told the husbandmen of Placidus, and so led him toward Rome. Eustace told all his adventures, and at the end of forty days they came to Rome. When they arrived they found that Trajan was dead and that Hadrian reigned in his stead. None the less Sir Eustace led the armies of the empire to victory. He came to a city where dwelt his wife; and his sons, who were in the army unknown to him and to each other, lodged at her house. After three days they began to talk in her presence of their childhood, and so were revealed to her as well as to one another. She went to the general and told her tale, and as she told it recognized her husband. So after many explanations they were all united and had more wealth than before. But since they refused to worship the gods of Hadrian, the Emperor bade that they be given to a lion. The lion refused to harm them, and Hadrian in his rage commanded that they be shut up in a brazen ox, heated white-hot. God made the ox all cold and took their souls to

heaven, so that when their bodies were taken out they were found unsinged. The Emperor sighed therefore, and many heathen were turned to Christ.

This life of St. Eustace — the medieval Job — varies little from the customary accounts. Indeed, the differences in all the lives are trivial considering the widespread popularity of the legend. The cult of the saint is discussed in the *Acta Sanct.*, Oct., tom. VI., die 12. The most complete account of the various versions of the legend is to be found in *Dos obras didacticas y dos leyendas sacadas de manuscritos de la biblioteca del Escorial*, ed. H. Knust, 1878, pp. 107 ff. Reviews of this work by H. Varnhagen, *Angl.*, III., p. 399, and by R. Köhler, *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, III., p. 272 give additional material.

Latin versions:

(1) *Acta Sanct.*, Sept., tom. VI., die 20, p. 123, *Acta Fabulosa ex MS. Medicaeo regis Franciae*. This is the oldest version which we possess.

(2) Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. X., caps. 58–61 and cap. 82. The martyrdom is here given separately.

(3) Jacques de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CLXI. (ed. Graesse, p. 712).

(4) *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Oesterley, p. 444).

(5) Étienne de Besançon, *Alpha. Narr.* (MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 36(a), a shortened form of the *Legenda Aurea*.

(6) Johannes Junior, *Scala Celi*, Passio Christi, fol. 130(b) gives the first part of the legend up to the baptism.

(7) Nicephorus Callistus treats the legend in his *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. III., cap. xxix. (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Graeca*, CXLV., col. 954).

(8) Brief résumé in *Menologium Graecorum* (see Knust, *op. cit.*, p. 107).

(9) In hexameters, *Acta Sanct.*, *loc. cit.*

(10) In hexameters, MS. Laud Misc. 410, ed. Varnhagen, *Zts. für deutsches Alterthum*, XXV., 1.

(11) In hexameters by Peter of Rheims (see *Angl.*, III., 400).

(12) In distiches, MS. Arundel 23, ed. Varnhagen, *Zts. für deutsches Alterthum*, XXIV., 241.

(13) In distiches, Cod. Ver., XC., fol. 70(a), ed. Dümmler, *Zts. für deutsches Alterthum*, XXIII., 273.

French versions:

(1) Fragment of a version in alexandrines by Benoît, MS. Egerton 1066 (see Meyer, *Bulletin de la Soc. des Anc. Textes français*, IV., 57; and Knust, *op. cit.*, p. 114).

(2) In alexandrine couplets, MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 1555 (see Knust, *op. cit.*, 117), by Guillaume de Ferrières (see Meyer, *loc. cit.*).

(3) In alexandrine quatrains (see Meyer, *loc. cit.*).

(4) In decasyllables, MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 1707 (see Knust, *op. cit.*, p. 116).

(5) In octosyllables, MSS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 19530 and Egerton 745 (see Knust, *op. cit.*, p. 116), by a certain Pierre (see Meyer, *loc. cit.*).

(6) In irregular metre, MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 24951.

(7) In octosyllables, MS. F. 149, Bibl. Nat. at Madrid (see Meyer, *loc. cit.*).

(8) In prose, Jean de Vignay's *Legende Dorée*, fol. 207(b).

For the tragedies on this theme see Nisard, *Hist. des Livres populaires*, II., 186; and Knust, *op. cit.*, 117.

German versions:

(1) Rudolf von Ems, ed. Roth, *Deutsche Predigten des XII. u. XIII. Jahrh.*, 1839 (see Knust, *op. cit.*, 119).

(2) *Der Vaeter Buoch* (a translation with additions of the *Vitae Patrum*), see Knust, *loc. cit.*

(3) Hermann von Fritzler in *Legenden von Heiligen*, ed. Pfeiffer, *Die d. Mystiker des XIV. Jahrh.* (see Knust, *loc. cit.*).

(4) A version printed 1455, perhaps by Zobel (see Knust, *loc. cit.*).

Italian versions:

(1) *Rappresentazione di Sancto Eustachio*, a mystery several times printed during the 16th cent. (see Knust, *op. cit.*, 117).

(2) *La Historia di Sancto Eustachio*, verse, (see Knust, *op. cit.*, 118).

(3) *La Historia santo Eustachio*, prose, (see Knust, *loc. cit.*).

(4) *Della Vita S. Eustachio Martire*, Giovanni Batt. Manzini, Venetia, 1663, (see Knust, *loc. cit.*).

(5) *Historia Eustachio-Mariana*, A. Kircher, Romæ, 1665, (see Knust, *loc. cit.*).

(6) By Fra Domenico Cavalca, see Köhler, *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, III., 275.

Spanish versions:

(1) Translation of Latin version into Spanish prose, ed. Knust, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 ff., from MS. & II. 8 of the Escorial.

(2) *Las quatro Estrellas de Roma y el martirio màs sangriento de San Eustachio*, a comedy (see Knust, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

Miscellaneous :

Versions of the legend are found in the Scandinavian and Slavic tongues, also in Breton, sometimes as folk-songs.

English versions :

(1) Ælfric in his *Lives of Saints*, no. 30, (ed. Skeat, p. 190) gives a clear, full account which closely follows the original Latin version.

(2) *Early South-English Legendary*, ed. Horstmann, p. 393. For the MSS. see Horstmann, pp. xiii-xxiv.

This version is precisely like that of the *Met. Hom.* as far as events are concerned, though it bears little resemblance in language.

(3) *Met. Hom.* Found in all the MSS. save Harl. 2391 and Edin. See table in Part I. Also in expanded collections.

(4) Version from MS. Digby 86, ed. Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, Neue Folge, p. 211. This gives no names except that of Eustace.

(5) *Barbour's Legend Collection*, ed. Horstmann, II., 12; Metcalfe, II., 69. This follows the *Legenda Aurea*.

(6) John Partridge's version, ed. Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, Neue Folge, p. 472; also for Roxburgh Club, 1872.

(7) In 1599 a drama by John Chettle entitled *The Hystorie of the moste noble knight Plasidas* was presented in London. Published for Roxburgh Club, 1873.

The version of *Met. Hom.* probably was taken from the early Latin form and presents the legend without much change.

An interesting cycle of romance stories grew up round the Eustace legend. These romances have not yet been made the subject of an exhaustive investigation from the point of view of their general relations to the parent legend (though the literature of the subject is considerable); nor can I do more here than to enumerate them. The following romances or stories all have more or less intimate connections with the Placidus legend.

(1) Guillaume d'Engleterre.¹

(2) Der Graf von Savoy.²

(3) Die gute Frau.³

(4) Wilhelm von Wenden.⁴

¹ By Crestien de Troyes, ed. Foerster, 1899.

² Ed. J. Eschenburg, 1799.

³ Ed. Sommer, *Zts. f. d. Alterthum*, II., 392.

⁴ By Ulrich von Eschenbach, ed. Toischer, 1876.

(5) The Octavian romances.¹

(6) La Historia del Cavallero Cifar.²

(7) Story in *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Herrtage, p. 87.

(8) Sir Ysumbras.³

In his review of Knust, *Dos obras didacticas*, in *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, III., 272 ff., R. Köhler noticed the resemblance of the legend to the story in the *Arabian Nights* of the king who lost all, but to whom God restored everything, and to an Armenian variant of this story. The variant remains to be cited according to which the legend attaches to St. Hubert. See Simrock, *Die geschichtlichen Deutschen Sagen*, pp. 46, 47; two ballads, nos. 20 and 21, the former by G. Görres, the latter a folksong.

(19) The Uncharitable Hermit:

A young hermit was grievously tempted with fleshly lust and confessed to a holy hermit who was old and had never known temptation of the body. The old hermit thus was uncharitable and told his brother that he would go to hell. In great despair the young man set out toward the town, meaning to forsake the holy life. On his way he met an old hermit named Apollo, who asked him of his trouble and comforted him by telling him that though old he himself suffered temptation of the flesh daily. After being instructed how to overcome the fiend, the young man returned to his cell to do penance. Apollo went to the hermitage where dwelt the old hermit and prayed that the temptation of the young man might come upon the old man for his lack of charity. Ere he ceased, he saw the fiend shooting through the window with bow and arrow. Grievously tempted the old man cast off his habit and set off townward. Apollo followed him and upbraided him for his sin. The hermit fell on his knees, confessing his sin, and through their united prayers he was released from temptation.

The original of this legend is the *Vitae Patrum*, lib. V., libellus 5 (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 874). It concerns the hermit Apollonius, who plays the part of *deus ex machina*. An Ethiopian replaces the devil and shoots at the uncharitable hermit as in the *Met.*

¹ French version, *Octavian*, ed. Völmöller, 1883; English versions, ed. Sarrazin, 1885.

² Ed. Michelant, 1872.

³ Ed. Schleich, 1901.

Hom. In this form the story is found in Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane, no. LXXXI., p. 36); the pseudo-Jacques de Vitry of MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134, fol. 231(a); Étienne de Besançon, *Alph. Narr.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 2(a); Johannes Junior, *Scala Celi*, De confessore, ed. 1483, fol. 41(a). Jacques de Vitry, Étienne de Besançon, and Johannes refer to the *Vitae Patrum* as their source.

A similar form, but verbally independent, is given by Johannes Cassianus, coll. II., *De discretione*, cap. XIII. (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, XLIX. col. 544). Another example is found in the *Magnum Spec. Exemp.* (ed. 1603), Confessio II., p. 106, which is ascribed to *Libri Doctrinae P. P.*, liber de fornicatione nu. I., but which is the same as the version of the *Vit. Pat.* as far as events go. In Caxton's *Vitas Patrum*, fol. 231, the legend is given in a treatise against fornication. A French version afterward turned into English was that of William of Wadington, which formed the basis for Robert of Brunne's tale. For both French and English see *Handlyng Synne* (ed. Furnivall, p. 262). The story is ascribed to Gregory but has the form of the *Vitae Patrum*. A "blak man" shoots the arrows at the uncharitable hermit.

(20) The Knight Beguiled by the Devil:

A knight beyond the sea, who had been rich but who through lavish expenditure had fallen into poverty, was greatly grieved when the day came on which he had been accustomed to make a great feast in honor of Our Lady. In shame he fled to a wood and there was met by the devil in man's likeness, who promised him great wealth if he would do his will. The knight promised so to do. He was told to go and dig for gold where it lay in the earth and then to bring his wife to the wood. The knight, not recognizing the fiend, did as he was told, found the money, and again made feasts. On the day appointed he told his wife to come with him to speak to a friend, and so on their palfreys they passed into the wood. They rode by a chapel, and the lady dismounted to pray while her husband rode forward bidding her not to be long, under penalty of his anger. She prayed so long, however, that she fell asleep. As she lay there Our Lady came, leaped on the palfrey, and rode with the knight in the form of his wife. When they met the fiend he angrily cried out that the knight had brought God's Mother instead of his wife. At this the knight craved pardon of Our Lady, who at once disappeared, and he returned to find his wife asleep in the chapel.

This Mary legend is told by Jacobus a Voragine in its present form; and presumably it reached our author from that collection, where it appears under *Assumptio Virginis*. See *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CXIX. (ed. Graesse, 513). The version which Wright printed, *Latin Stories*, p. 31, is from MS. Arundel 506, fol. 54(b) and MS. Harl. 3216, fol. 6(b). It is the version of Voragine again. Johannes Junior in the 14th century gives essentially the same tale (*Scala Celi*, De muliere, fol. 119(b)).

Jean Mielot, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, no. II. (ed. Warner, p. 5) gives a much closer paraphrase of Jacques de Voragine's account than does our author. For example, he does not add the little touch of character which we get in the *Met. Hom.* where the knight bids his wife not to stay too long in the chapel about her prayers. A far more picturesque and lively account in French is that found as no. 3 in a collection of miracles of the Virgin contained in MS. Bibl. Nat. fran. 410 (anciens fonds fran. 7018*), fol. 8(a). The events narrated, however, and the general order are the same.

An English version, the only one I know of beside that in the present collection, is found in three of the MSS. which contain the South-English Legendary, viz. MS. Harl. 2277, fol. 61(b), MS. Cott. Cleopatra D. 9, fol. 148(a), and MS. Cott. Julius D. 9, fol. 302(b). This miracle is one of several in praise of the Virgin placed after the story of Teofle. It is not printed by Horstmann. No mention is made of the knight's extravagance as the cause of his misfortune. Otherwise the tale presents no unusual features, except that when the Virgin comes out from the chapel in the form of his wife the knight chides her for so long delaying him.

Latin versions similar to that printed by Wright (see above) are found in MS. Harl. 2316, fol. 8(a), and MS. Add. 11284, fol. 53(b).

Other stories of devil-dealing are common in the Middle Ages. The usual object for which the victims sell themselves is money or power, though in some the motive is love. The Theophilus story (no. 39) is an example of the former kind, as is also the Old French *fabliau*, "Du vilain qui donna son ame au Deable" (Montaiglon-Raynaud, II., p. 34). In the latter the man returns to the devil every ten years to get more wealth, but the fourth time he loses his life as well as his soul. A second story in the *Legenda Aurea*, cap. XXVI. (ed. Graesse, p. 122), is similar to ours in that a young man, who has sold himself to the devil for the sake of a maid and who has been rescued by St. Basil receives back by miracle his written agreement.

This legend is told by Ælfric in his life of St. Basil (ed. Skeat, I., 73).¹ A story in which Mary figures is told by Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. VII., caps. 105, 106. Here a poor knight of Aquitaine who has wasted his property calls on the devil, is ready to deny Christ but will not give up Mary, goes into a church, and prays to the Virgin. She comforts him and arranges for him to marry the daughter of a rich old knight. Other versions of this story are found in MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134, no. 39, of a collection of Miracles, and in Mielot, *Miracles de Notre Dame*, no. 39 (ed. Warner, p. 37). Similar to this tale is one contained in MS. Balliol, 240 (no. 44), where the hero is not a knight but a clerk who was greatly beloved by his bishop. He refuses to give up the Virgin, but instead of being rewarded with a wife he dissolves a previous marriage and lives henceforth wholly in the service of Mary, "malorum fugax."

(21) Saint Bede and the Birds:

In the life of St. Bede we find written that in his old age he was blind but none the less continued his preaching. Once as he went to preach his "knave" grew weary on a moor and told his master that many people had come thither to hear him preach. Bede believed this lie and preached till his knave was rested and scorned him. But God showed a miracle, for when Bede had finished the hard stones called out and the birds flying past cried as men:

"Blessed be þou þt can so kenne,
Wele has þou preched here saule hele."

Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CLXXXI. (ed. Graesse, p. 833), gives this anecdote. Bede's servant stopped, however, in a valley full of stones rather than on the moor. The birds are not mentioned. The stones and angels cried out when Bede had done: "Amen, venerabilis pater, . . . Bene, venerabilis pater, dixisti." It is also found in *Alph. Narr.*, of Étienne de Besançon, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 70(b).

A similar tale of appreciation shown by birds to a holy man is related as a Welsh folk-tale. See Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, p. 219. "When St. Beuno lived at Celynnog, he used to go regularly to preach at Llandwyn on the opposite side of the water, which he always crossed on foot. But one Sunday he accidentally dropped his book of sermons into the water, and when he had failed to recover it a *gylfn-hir*, or curlew, came by, picked it up, and placed it on a stone out of the reach of the

¹ The story comes from the ninth century life of St. Basil by Amphilochius.

tide. The saint prayed for the protection and favour of the Creator for the *gylfin-hir*; it was granted, and so nobody ever knows where that bird makes its nest."

(22) Piers Toller :

A rich merchant called Piers Toller dwelt far beyond the sea. He was a good man, but he did not love beggars and was so far from charity that he would give poor men nothing. One summer day the poor folk sat in the sun recounting the houses where they had received alms. They talked of Piers and promised mastery of them all to a beggar who said that he would get alms from Piers. The beggar went to his house, and as he stood at the door Piers came home followed by a servant with a basket of bread. In default of a stone he cast a loaf at the beggar who bore it off blithely to his fellows and received his reward. On the third day Piers fell sick, and in a trance saw his judgment. A pair of balances hung before him. In one scale the fiends heaped up his sins and the angels could find nothing to put in the other side except the little loaf which he had thrown at the beggar. Yet this bore up all his sins. After being advised by the angels he woke from his trance and became a man of great charity, beloved by all. Once he met a ship-broken mariner and gave him his cloak. The poor man was unwilling to wear so rich a garment and sold it at a booth. When Piers found this out he was sorrowful and thought that because of his unworthiness God's servants would not wear his clothes. He was comforted by Christ who appeared to him clad in the garment which he had given the mariner. Then he bade a clerk take ten pounds to buy merchandise and to sell him to a Christian in some distant land. Unwillingly the clerk did so, sold him for thirty pence which he gave to the poor, and Piers became the servant of a man in reduced circumstances named Goyle. Through his efforts Goyle became rich, but he himself did menial duties and was called Dob-Daffe. Christ appeared to him to give him comfort, and soon after he was recognized by some merchants of his country whom he served at the house of Goyle. They tried to take him for the sake of the Emperor who was sad at his loss. Piers, in order to escape from them, addressed a deaf-and-dumb porter at the gate who by a miracle answered him and his pursuers. The man said that a fire came out of Piers' mouth and touched his tongue. But Piers was never seen again, though we may be sure that he was taken to bliss.

The story of Piers the Usurer, which was so popular in the Middle Ages that it has certain characteristics of the folk-tale, nevertheless seems to originate with the life of St. John the Almoner by Leontius of Naples. John of Alexandria, commonly known as Johannes Eleemosynarius, lived at the end of the VI. century, and his biographer, Leontius, was a contemporary. The Greek text of the life has been published by Heinrich Gelzer (Freiburg and Leipzig, 1893). The story appears in chap. XXII., p. 40, and is said to be one that John the Almoner was accustomed to tell. The general course of the story is the same as that of the *Met. Hom.*, but it has a different beginning, which I quote from the translation by Anastasius (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 356): "Habebam, inquit, quemdam ministrum in apotheca mea in Cypro, fidelem valde, et virginem usque ad obitum suum. Hic ergo narrabat mihi quia [sic] in Africa existente me facta est res hujusmodi: Permanebam enim, ait, cum quodam toloneario, divite vehementer et immisericordi." So the story seems to have justification for its likeness to a *fabliau* in its origin. The name of Piers' master at Jerusalem, which appears as Goyle in the *Met. Hom.*, is Σωίλος in the Greek text; and the original of Dob-Daffe appears less picturesquely as παραπαίων, or in the translation Amens.

All the derivatives which I have found save that of the *Met. Hom.* refer more or less indirectly to John the Almoner. The version of the *Legenda Aurea*, cap. XXVII. (ed. Graesse, p. 126), is briefer than that of the *Met. Hom.*, but it follows the original almost as closely. It does not state what the beggar's wager was. In it, moreover, Petrus was taken sick *two* days after he threw the loaf at the beggar. So this can hardly be the source whence our author took the story. The version of *Leg. Aurea* is found in the paraphrase by Jean de Vignay, *Legende Dorée*, fol. 40(a), and in Caxton's *Golden Legend*.

In the *Speculum Morale*, lib. I., dist. 104, pars 3, is found a brief version with no mention of the beggars, etc. In lib. II., dist. 6, pars 2, it is told again and with much detail except at the end. Another XIII. century version is the fragment contained in the *Alpha. Narr.* by Étienne de Besançon (MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 34(b)), where the story is told up to the point where Petrus awakes. The incident of the mantle is told as a separate anecdote on the same leaf. In the XIV. century the story appears in Latin in the *Sermones de tempore* of John Herolt, no. 81, p. 463. Petrus is not named in the beginning of this version, but incidentally later on he is mentioned by name.

William of Wadington and Robert of Brunne give the story but with some differences. See *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Furnivall, p. 175.¹ Piers was an "okerere." The beggars didn't talk of him till they saw him come out of his gate. The beggar met him on his return. "The ship-broken mariner" becomes

" . . . a man
As naked as he was bore
þat yn þe se had alle lore."

Piers saw this man sell the garment which he gave him. The incident of selling Piers is told in detail. The clerk sold him to an old acquaintance named "Zole." The nickname is not given.

Another rather free version is that in *Jacob's Well*, chap. XXIX. (ed. Brandeis, p. 192). In this the fact of the wager is merely stated. "Perys bare rye-louys fro þe oven to þe pantrye." In his dream the loaf did not outweigh the sins. The latter part of the story is told with great brevity.

The incident about the mantle bears a certain resemblance to the well-known legend about St. Martin which appears as no. 25.

(23) The Hermit and the Thieves :

A hermit in a desert was robbed by thieves, though he had few possessions. When they were gone he remembered a sack which they had not found, and he ran after them with the sack. They were so moved by his meekness that they repented and were good men from that day.

I have found this story nowhere but in Caxton's *Vitas Patrum*, fol. 300. There it occurs without essential differences from our version.

(24) The Man in the Devil's Leash :

A holy man stood in a churchyard praying and saw a fiend pass by with a man in leash. By God's grace the man broke away and went into the church. He made confession to the priest and came out again. The fiend who was awaiting his prey at the stile did not know him and was both astonished and angry when the holy man told him that his victim had passed by.

The original of this tale is the *Vitae Patrum*, lib. VII. (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 1046). It is told of Paul the Simple and is more detailed than our story. While the man was within the church Paul prayed and wept. The man who was dark and stained by sin

¹ Printed by Morris, *Spec. of Early English*, 1867, p. 109.

when he entered came out radiant, so that the devil did not know him. Paul first addressed the devil, then heard the narration of the man at some length.

The derivatives of this are of three kinds :

A. Those which follow the original very closely include : *Spec. Morale*, lib. III., dist. XIX., pars III. (somewhat less detailed than that of *V. P.*) ; Herolt, *Sermones Quadragesimales*, IX. (like that or *Spec. Morale*) ; Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, M, exemp. 19 (almost word for word like that of *V. P.*) ; Robert of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne* and Wadington, *Le Manuel des Pechiez* (ed. Furnivall, p. 378), where Paul is mentioned only as a good hermit and the chain broke as the man entered the church, and on being questioned the man said he felt burdened with an old sin before he was shriven but afterward felt wondrous light ; and *Met. Hom.*

B. That of John Herolt, *Sermones de Tempore*, CXXXIX. A man had evil thoughts. So the devil came to him in the form of a traveller. As they were walking together the man began to be afraid and went into a church which they were passing. It was Lent. After confession he came out, but the devil did not recognize him and asked where his companion had gone.

C. The form of Nicole de Bozon, *Contes Moralisés*, no. 58 (ed. Smith and Meyer, p. 81), where the devil doesn't appear, the holy man merely noticing the change in appearance of a sinner ; and that of Herolt, *Sermones Quadragesimales*, XV., where the devil saw men "claros recedere de confessione."

(25) Saint Martin's Cloak :

St. Martin met a naked cripple one day, and since he had nothing to give but his own clothes and was riding in knight's apparel of tunic and mantle only, he cut his cloak in two with his sword and gave one half to the beggar. People laughed him to scorn, but that night Christ appeared to him clad in the half which he had given the poor man. And Christ said to an angel :

" . . . todaie Martine cledde me
Wiþ þis clothe als þou maie se."

This well-known anecdote of St. Martin of Tours is found in the *Vita* by Sulpicius Severus, lib. I., par. 3 (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.* XX., col. 162). It happened while Martin was serving as a soldier in his youth at Amiens. Christ made a long address to a multitude of angels when he appeared that night.

The legend has been a very popular subject in art. Perhaps its best known appearance in literature is *Li Dis du Mantel Saint Martin*, by Jean de Condé (ed. Scheler, *Dits et Contes*, etc., III., p. 313). Two versions in Old English follow closely their original, Severus: *Blickling Homilies* (ed. Morris, p. 213); and Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*. no. XXXI. (ed. Skeat, II., p. 222).

(26) The Devil in Church:

A holy man at preaching saw the fiend glide about with a pitcher and a cup. And whoever drank of the cup went to sleep.

This story is a sort of abstract of a monkish example from the *Vitæ Patrum*, often referred to St. Machary. The version of John Bromyard (late XIV. cent.) is most like this. It runs as follows: "*Unde fertur quod cum quidam videret populum indevotum cui predicavit quasi pigros et somnolentos ad rogatum suum deus ostendit ei causam indevotionis. Videbat siquidem quemdam nigrum circuire et ponere digitos suos super aures et oculos populi ne audirent: sed dormirent et requisitus de nomine dixit se dyabolum esse: nomenque suum esse obturans aures et oculos: requisitus etiam si socios haberet. Respondit se tres habere socios ibidem secum: quorum unus dicebatur indurans cor ne conterantur. Alius obturans os ne confiteantur. Tercius obturans bursam: ne satisfaciant vel restituant. Et recte sicut nititur obturare aures ne audiant legem vel utilia.*" (Bromyard, *Summa Praedicatorum*, A, XXVI., 10.)

The story is printed by Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXXIII., col. 765. The preacher is here the Abbot Macharius, and he saw more than one fiend, "*pueros Aethiopes nigros.*" A similar version occurs in the *Alphabetum Narrationum* of Étienne de Besançon († 1294), MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 65(a). This is referred to *Vitæ Patrum*. A short version is also given, fol. 12(b), which refers to Jacques de Vitry. This attribution, however, seems to be false.

An English version of the story is found in Jacob's Well (ed. Brandeis), chap. XXXVII., which follows but does not refer to the *Vitæ Patrum*. Curiously, the devils are described as "*feendys smale as chylceryn, blewe as men of Inde.*"

(27) Saint Edmund and the Devil:

We find written in his life that St. Edmund was a holy and good man, but that God suffered the foul fiend to tempt him. Once while he was in bed and was saying his private prayers, the devil fell upon him and held him so that he could move neither hand nor tongue. But the saint thought of Christ's passion and so made the fiend disappear.

The original of this legend is in the life of St. Edmund the Confessor, by Bertrand of Pontigny, which was printed by Martène in the third volume of *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*. Edmund was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1233 till his death in 1240. Bertrand's life is said to have been written in 1247. This legend is found (ed. Martène), p. 1791. After a long night of study the saint went to bed a little before dawn, when the devil fell upon him and held both hands so that he could not cross himself. But he prayed in spirit and so escaped.

A short Latin version is given by Bromyard, *Summa Praedicatorum*, P, II, 26, and referred to the *Vita*. In the *Early South-English Legendary*, ed. Horstmann, p. 439, under a life of the saint, the legend is told differently. While at Oxford he fell asleep over a book one day and so ceased to think of the passion as was his continual wont. The rest of the story is the same.

(28) Theobald and the Leper:

The earl Theobald lived beyond the sea where he founded near Blois the abbey of Clairvaux, a rich house full of wise monks. This earl dispossessed a knight of his lands and so was cursed of God. Once as he rode out of town he found a leper by the roadside and took such pity on him that he promised him food and clothing as long as he should live. The leper lived long in the house which the earl provided and was fed by Theobald's alms. At length he died, and soon after him the earl. After their death a monk of Clairvaux saw them in a dream and after this fashion. A multitude of souls drew to judgment. On a high seat beside Christ was the leper, now radiant and beautiful, and he talked with Christ as with a dear companion because he had suffered on earth without complaint. Before them two black dogs dragged the earl who was challenged as a felon because he had disinherited that knight, and he was doomed to hell. But the leper told Christ how Theobald had cared for him and besought his release. Christ was moved by the tale and commanded to lead the earl to purgatory. So he was saved by the leper's prayer.

This story is connected with another story of Theobald and a leper first told in the collection of exempla ascribed to Jacques de Vitry which are contained in MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134. It occurs as no. 70 of the collection, fol. 203(a). The story is this: "Theobaldus, comes Campanie" was accustomed to visit a leper who lived by himself in a little house. Once as the knight passed by he went in to see his friend and found him healed and radiant. The former leper told

him that he would find mercy in heaven on account of his goodness. The knight went out, heard from his followers that the leper had been dead many months, and returning found nothing in the house but a sweet odor. In the *Speculum Morale*, lib. III., dist. XXV., pars x., and in Besançon's *Alph. Narr.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 50(a), is the same story except that the name is omitted. The man simply called "Comes Campaniæ devotus."

Thomas Cantipratanus († 1260-80), *Bonum Universale de Apibus* (ed. 1627), p. 254, gives two stories concerning "Theobaldus, Comes Carnotensium ac Blesensium." (1) On the authority of Comitissa Carnotensium ac Blesensium. The knight one wintry day met a beggar to whom he gave his cloak. But the beggar vanished just before he was to take the mantle. (2) The story of the leper as in the Jacques de Vitry collection, except that the leper is said to have lived on the road between Chartres and Blois and that the knight did not return to the house.

A variant, briefly told, is found in *Jacob's Well*, chap. XXXIX. (ed. Brandeis, p. 247). "Theobaldus an erle" used to wash a leper's feet. After the latter's death he washed "pe feet of crist clothid lyche pe lepre." When he had finished he smelled a sweet odor, went outside the house, and learning the truth praised God.

The connection between this story and ours is, of course, somewhat vague. Both, however, concern a Theobald, a knight of Blois, who was blessed for his kindness to a leper. It may be that our author, who was not without imagination, constructed the legend on the basis of that told by Cantipratanus. Or again our story may be a variant of that one which had reached him by oral tradition or, less probably, by some legendary. In any case, the version of Cantipratanus has the appearance of being the original legend in form, though not so old as that of Jacques de Vitry.

(29) The Monk who Prayed to See the Joys of Heaven.

A holy monk had great yearning to see in life some token of the least joy that is in heaven. When he was old and was made free of convent work, he sat one morning in the cloisters after prime when the brothers had gone forth to work. And he saw a bird beside him which he tried to catch. When it flew away he followed it to the gate and into a wood that was there. At last it perched upon a bough and began to sing. The song was so sweet that the monk thought he would not go back till the bird had ceased. When the song was finished, thinking that it was time for "undrone" to ring in the abbey,

he went home to meet the brothers in the church. He found the convent walls moss-grown ; and he found no gate where he had come out, but a new gate elsewhere and a porter whom he had never seen. The porter asked him who he was. He replied that he was a monk who had just gone out to the wood. The porter said : " I knawe you nogt." The monk thought this strange and asked the name of the abbey, and the porter told him. The monk found that new houses had been built and wished to go to the church. So the porter clad him in a cowl and led him to the church. Then the prior called him to the parlour and asked his name. He told his story, and he said he saw no monk nor frair that he had known. The prior asked him who was abbot went he went out. He told the name. They searched in books and found that the abbot whom he named had died three hundred years before. Also they found written in the chronicle how a monk had gone out and had never been seen again. So they knew that this was he. Again he told his tale, was houselled, and gave up the ghost.

This legend which has been widely narrated in the course of many centuries appears to come originally from the annals of the Abbey of Afflinghem, near Malines, in the time of the Abbot Fulgentius, who flourished toward the close of the eleventh century. Liebrecht in *John Dunlop's Geschichte der Prosadictungen* (ed. 1851, p. 543) reprints from Prudent van Duyse's *Vaderlandsche Poezy* (vol. I., p. 202), the Latin original, which is stated to come from a MS. of Afflinghem. It begins : "Eodem tempore (circa finem XI. sæculi) ut fertur, accidisset Fulgentio (primo Abbati Hafflighemi) mirabilis historia : admonitus enim a fratribus illis adesse peregrinum sed venerabilem monachum, qui se illius monasterii fratrem affirmabat, introduci fecit illum." The story proceeds with the narrative of the old monk who said that the morning before, after matins, he had remained in the choir meditating on the mystery of the words : " Mille anni ante oculos tuos tamquam dies hesterna quæ præterit." A little bird appeared to him. Charmed with its song he followed it outside the monastery and into the forest where he had remained till then. Returning home he found everything changed. And when Fulgentius asked about his abbot and feudal lords it was found that all had been dead three hundred years. So the monk was houselled and died.

The version of the legend which is nearest this in age is that of Maurice de Sully († 1196) in a sermon for *Dominica tertia post*

pascha, ed. Chambery, 1484. (M. Paul Meyer has also printed part of the story by Maurice, from several MSS., in *Romania*, V., p. 473.) This version varies from the preceding in the following points: it tells the story picturesquely from the general point of view, not from that of an annalist; it does not mention the monk's old age; he was in the cloisters, not the chapel, when the bird came to him; the bird was an angel in disguise; the monk returned to the abbey about mid-day; the monk's death is not mentioned.

Like the version of Sully, but shorter, is that of Eude de Cheriton, in a sermon for *Dom. IV. post Pasche* (quoted by P. Meyer, *Contes Moralisés de Nicole de Bozon*, p. 267). It must be independent, however, for the monk is here represented as old. Moreover, Eude de Cheriton was but little later in date than Maurice de Sully.

Most like the version quoted by Liebrecht is one found in the *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum* (Douai, 1603), dist. IX., ex. 55, p. 614. It is headed, vaguely enough, "Legitur in libro exemplorum," but is certainly a derivative, though perhaps in the second degree, of that story.

On the other hand, the version of John Herolt in *Sermones de Tempore*, sermo LXXXIV., is again a derivative of Sully. In this the monk is stated to have been absent for three hundred and forty years. In an account of Herolt, Prof. Crane gives a translation of this (*Medieval Sermon-Books*, p. 74). The remaining Latin version which I have found, that of John Bromyard, *Summa Praedicatorum*, G, I., 15, gives the story in barest outline.

The version of Nicole de Bozon, *Contes Moralisés*, ed. Smith and Meyer, no. 90, p. 112, is the same as that of the *Met. Hom.* but in much less detail. The two probably come from some collection of stories in Latin which circulated in England during the 14th century. This seems more probable than that Bozon changed the account by Fulgentius, and that our author saw Bozon's work, though that is possible (see no. 31).

The distinctively German version of the story is that printed by von der Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer*, no. XC. (vol. III., p. 613). In this form the monk is named Felix and belonged to the gray monks. He was absent from the abbey fully one hundred years. This metrical and distinctly poetical version, which differs in many details from all the other examples, was the source of H. W. Longfellow's story of the Monk Felix in his *Golden Legend* (chap. II.). The version of *Pauli's Schimpf und Ernst*, ed. Cæsterley, no. 562, conforms rather to the ordinary type, such as that of *Spec. Exemp.*

Professor Rhys (*Celtic Folklore*, p. 155 ff.) regards the tale as simply an ecclesiastical variant of the common story of a sojourner in fairy land. I copy his remark, though it seems at least possible, 'considering the wide popularity of the story on the Continent, that he may be wrong in his treatment of the folk-tale as connected with the monkish story. "This latter kind of story leads easily up to another development, namely, to substituting for the bird's warble the song and felicity of heaven, and for the simple shepherd a pious monk. In this form it is located at a place called Llwyn y Nef, or Heaven's Grove, near Celynnog Fawr, in Carnarvonshire. It is given by Glasynys in *Cymru Fu*, pp. 183-4, where it was copied from the *Brython*, III., 111, in which he had previously published it. Several versions of it in rhyme came down from the eighteenth century, and Silvan Evans has brought together twenty-six stanzas in point in *Sz. David's College Magazine* for 1881, pp. 191-200."

(30) The Mother who Prayed Christ in Behalf of her Sons: Biblical.

(31) Carpus:

A Christian priest named Carpus was so zealous for Jesus that he was angry with those who spoke against Christ and stood stiffly in the fight with His enemies. In those days the church was new and few believed. It happened then that an evil man made a Christian go astray. And Carpus was so angry that he prayed that both should have some mishap. Christ heard the prayer and sent sickness upon the two. Then in sleep Carpus saw the two lying on a crag at the mouth of hell, and he was well pleased. He prayed: "A Jesus, late paim fall." Jesus said to him that he had died for them and counselled Carpus to charity. So he woke and with changed purpose went to the two and brought them to amendment, so that they died as Christians.

This story of Carpus comes from a letter written by Dionysius Areopagitus, to Demophilus, printed as epist. 8, *Acta Sanct.*, Mai, tom. VI., die 26, p. 356. The erring man in this form of the legend (and, indeed, in all the examples of it save that in *Met. Hom.*), was a convert of Carpus'. Dionysius, the reputed author, is not to be confused with Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria.

The story is found in *Le Manuel des Pechiez*, by William of Wadlington, and in *Handlyng Synne*, by Robert of Brunne (ed. Furnivall, p. 164). The translation differs from its French original in making Carpus pray for the damnation of the man who was led astray only. It refers the legend to "Seynt Dynys of France," who was identified

with Dionysius, the Areopagite, as early as the IX. century. Johannes Scotus, in the course of that century, in the preface to his translation of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite has this notice: "Hunc eundem quoque non prefati viri, sed alii moderni temporis asserunt, quantum vita ejus a fidelibus viris tradita testatur, temporibus Papæ Clementis, successoris videlicet Petri apostoli, Romam venisse, et ab eo prædicandi Evangelii gratia in partes Galliarum directum fuisse, et Parisii martyrii gloria coronatum fuisse cum beatissimis suis consortibus. Rustico scilicet atque Eleutherio."¹ (Migne, *Pat. Curs. Lat.*, CXXII., col. 1032).

Perhaps the foundation of our version is that of Nicole de Bozon, *Contes Moralisés*, no. 79, p. 98. This is, however, pure conjecture, for there is no certain evidence that our author knew Bozon's works.

(32) The Melancholy King and his Brother:

I find written of a king that he would never laugh. His brother once asked him why he was so sorrowful and he replied that he would answer on the next day. There was a custom in the land that when a man was to be executed trumpeters should blow before his door. So in the morning the king had horns blown before his brother's door. The brother wept, for he did not know why he should be doomed. The king came to him and asked him why he was so sad. He said that he could not be happy since he had heard the trumpets of death. Then the king replied that he too could not be happy, because he knew that death would overtake him.

This story belongs to a group, or rather a widely distributed family, which have united in a remarkable number of combinations an anecdote from *Barlaam and Josaphat* and the tale which we know as *The Sword of Damocles*. The former, as given by Johannes Damascenus, is as follows: A king accompanied by his escort meets two beggars. He kneels to them because they are holy. The nobles murmur, and the king's brother protests. That evening horns are blown before the brother's gate, which is the sign that he is condemned to death. The brother passes the night in fear and in the morning is haled before the king. The latter asks him why he fears and then tells him that if he fears so much the horns sent by his brother he ought not to wonder if others fear death all the time. He then has two caskets brought, one fair outside and rotten within, the other plain but filled with riches. Of these he bids his nobles choose. The story of Damocles is too well known to need narration.

¹ For this reference I am indebted to Mr. W. H. Stevenson.

On the basis of these two original stories certain modifications crept into the narratives. They were told either separately or in combination. Sometimes the beggars were not mentioned, but a certain melancholy king disciplined his brother. Again, the idea of the suspended sword was enlarged, and the king's speech to his brother was strengthened by having him apply four swords (or, since the number varies, simply swords) to his brother's body. Again, the story of the caskets was detached from the rest and became the parent of the "Casket Scene" in *The Merchant of Venice*.

It would be tedious to analyze each story separately. It is both simpler and clearer to make a schedule which shall show the relation of each to the general group. The following are the references to the stories which I have been able to examine :

1. Johannes Damascenus, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, trans. into Latin by Billius (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 462).
2. Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. XV., cap. 10 (see also *Magnum Spec. Exemp.* (Douai, 1603), p. 253).
3. Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CLXXX. (Barlaam and Josaphat) (ed. Graesse, p. 814).
4. Jean de Vignay, *Legende Dorte*, fol. 233(b).
5. De Condé, *Li Dis Dou Roi et Des Hiermittes* (ed. Scheler, vol. II., p. 63).
6. Johannes Junior, *Scala Celi*, De judicio extremo, fol. 95(b).
7. Jacques de Vitry (ascribed), MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134, fol. 196(a).
8. Étienne de Besançon, *Alpha Narr.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 47(a).
9. MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 11284, fol. 27(b).
10. *Spec. Morale*, lib. II., dist. V., pars II.
11. Johannes Junior, *Scala Celi*, De judicio extremo, fol. 95(b) (not the same as 6).
12. *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Oesterley, p. 498).
13. John Bromyard, *Summa Praedicatorum*, H, I., 22.
14. John Herolt, *Sermones de Tempore*, no. 53, p. 317.
15. *Jacob's Well*, chap. XXXIV. (ed. Brandeis, p. 220).
16. Paraldus, *Summa Virt. ac Vit.*, lib. I., fol. 143 (b), and lib. II., fol. 18(a).
17. *Met. Hom.*
18. Jacques de Vitry (ascribed), MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 26770, fol. 75(b).
19. Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane, exem. XLII., p. 151).
20. Eude de Cheriton, *Fabulae* (ed. Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, IV., p. 294).

21. Wright, *Latin Stories*, no. CIII., p. 92.
22. Bozon, *Contes Moralists* (ed. Smith and Meyer, p. 59).
23. Cicero, *Tusculum*, lib. V., cap. XXI.
24. Boethius, *Cons. Phil.*, III., Pr. V.
25. *Spec. Morale*, lib. II., dist. IV., pars I.
26. Holkot, *Opus sup. Sap. Salomonis*, lectio LXX.
27. Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane, ex. VIII.).
28. " " " (" " ex. XLVII.).
29. Étienne de Besançon, *Alph. Narr.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 46(b).

Now, taking these stories as a whole, we find that they contain six essential points which are distributed in various ways among the different members. These points are: (a) The incident of the beggars; (b) a melancholy king reproached (usually but not always by his brother); (c) horns blown outside the gates of the brother's palace as a signal of death; (d) swords placed against the sides of the man whom the king is going to instruct; (e) a sword suspended for same purpose; (f) the incident of the caskets.

(Nos. represent stories in preceding list).

(a) Beggars.	(b) Melancholy King.	(c) Horns blown.	(d) Swords applied.	(e) Swords suspended.	(f) Casket.
1		1			1
2		2			2
3		3			3
4		4			4
5		5			5
6		6			6
7					7
8		8			
9		9			
10		10	10		
	11			11	
	12	12		12	
	13		13	13	
	14		14	14	
	15		15	15	
	16	16			
	17	17			
	18		18		
	19	19	19		
	20	20	20		
	21	21	21		
	22	22	22		
				23	
				24	
				25	
				26	
				27	
					28
					29

It will be seen that the story of the *Met. Hom.* has but one close counterpart, that of Guilielmus Paraldus in the *Summa Virtutum ac Vitiorum*. As Paraldus died in 1275 and his collection was well known, this is the probable source of our story. It is, however, closely connected with (19), (20), (21), and (22), since the incident of the swords related in those might easily drop off. (In connection with Paraldus, it should be noted that Crane, *Jacques de Vitry*, p. 151, stigmatizes the references of Oesterley in *Gesta Rom.*, p. 736, to Paraldus and Herolt as incorrect. Oesterley is, of course, in the right. It is impossible to imagine what editions Prof. Crane consulted.)

(33) The Obedient Servant:

A hermit in the desert thus proved the obedience of his servant. He bade him put a dry bough in the earth and water it till it brought forth flowers and fruit. The good disciple watered it every day for three years, bringing water from a distance. At last God made the tree bear apples such that none were fairer in the world. The hermit took some of the apples to an abbey which was near and bade the monks eat them that they might know the power of obedience.

This moral tale appears in two collections of Latin exempla, one of the XIII. and one of XIV. cent. In the *Alphabetum Narrationum* of Étienne de Besançon (MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 63(a)) the fact is particularized that the servant brought water from a distance of two miles, and also that the dry stick flowered on the third year. Bromyard, in his *Summa Praedicatorum*, O, I. 5, gives the simple anecdote as in the *Met. Hom.* It also appears in Caxton's *Vitas Patrum*, fol. 321.

(34) Taysis:

There was a woman of ill-fame named Taysis who slew many souls by her fairness. A hermit named Pannonye who lived near came and gave her twelve pence that he might sin with her. She led him to a fair chamber, but he told her that it was not secret enough. Then she led him by the hand into another, where she said none but God could see them, from whom nothing was hid. Pannonye asked her if she believed that God saw everything. She said she did. Then the hermit asked her if she was not afraid to sin as she did, since she knew that it would bring her to hell. She fell to her knees and cried for mercy. Her penance is too long for me to tell here, but briefly she gave her soul to God.

The original of the Thaisis legend is in the *Vitae Patrum* (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 661), which narrates the conversion of the harlot Thaisis of Egypt by the hermit Paphnutius. Thaisis became a revered saint and her conversion is only one incident of the life as related in the *Vitae Patrum*. In this account the hermit paid her one *solidus*, and they entered but one room. After conversion she burned her possessions to the value of forty pounds. The same is given in the *Acta Sanct.*, Oct., tom. IV., die 8, p. 224.

Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane, no. CCLVII., p. 108) gives a version which differs from that of the *Met. Hom.*, in making Thaisis lead the hermit to a third room. Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. XIV., cap. 77, refers the story to Jerome (quite without justification as far as I can find out); and Thaisis is said to have come to her position through the influence of her mother. In *Spec. Morale*, lib. I., dist. XXVII. Paphnutius is led through several chambers and Thaisis burns property to the value "400 librarum auri." Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CLII. (ed. Graesse, p. 677), refers the story to *Vitae Patrum*, but as in *Spec. Morale* the saint is led through several rooms. Jean de Vignay, in *Legende Dorte*, fol. 197(b), does not change the story of his original. It is also given by Étienne de Besançon, *Alph. Narr.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 2(a), who refers it to the *Vitae Pat.*, and to the time of Emperor Valentian by the anonymous compiler of a so-called Jacques de Vitry collection in MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 26770, fol. 77(b), as no. 25; and twice by John Herolt, *Sermones Quad.*, sermo 33, and *Prompt. Exemp.*, M, ex. 28.

Of the English versions, that of the so-called *Barbour's Legend Collection* (ed. Horstmann, II., p. 79; Metcalfe, II., p. 215), follows closely the *Legenda Aurea*. More like the example from the *Met. Hom.*, is that of *Jacob's Well*, chap. III. (ed. Brandeis, p. 22) which is ascribed to the *Vitae Patrum*. It resembles our version in making the hermit pay twelve pence instead of the penny of the original, but it does not speak of the bloodshed which Thaisis caused. Probably both it and our version were taken from some *Vitae Patrum*, instead of from Voragine. Caxton in his *Vitas Patrum* follows the Latin arrangement closely.

(35) The Hermit and the Angel:

In the wilderness a hermit found a dead man's body and wished for someone to help him bury it. God sent him an angel in human form. The hermit held his nose because of the stink of the corpse, and he

thought it odd that the angel did not notice the odor but handled the body as a woman does her child. When they had done, there came riding by a fair young man with a hawk in his hand and singing like a man at ease. Then the angel held his nose and complained of the smell. The hermit marvelled and said he smelled nothing now though he had been oppressed by the stink of the corpse. The angel answered that the youth had so defiled himself with lechery that he who was the angel of God could not endure the smell, but that the dead man had been holy and so had no "ghostly" smell. Then the angel bade the hermit goodday and disappeared.

This legend appears in three different versions, distinguished by these characteristics: in A. a hermit who is walking in the desert sees that he is accompanied by two (sometimes one) angels; in B. an angel calls upon a hermit to help him bury a pilgrim slain by thieves; in C. the hermit finds the body and calls upon God for help, when the angel appears.

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|----|---|-----------------|---|---|
| A. | { | 1. Two angels : | { | <i>Vitae Patrum</i> , lib. VI. (Migne, <i>Patr. Curs. Lat.</i> , LXXIII., col. 1014).
<i>Speculum Morale</i> , lib. III., dist. XIX., pars III.
Bromyard, <i>Summa Praedicatorum</i> , M, XIII., 15.
Johannes Junior, <i>Scala Celi</i> , De peccato, fol. 132(b). |
| | | 2. One angel : | { | Étienne de Besançon, <i>Alpha Narr.</i> , MS. Bib. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 9(b).
<i>Jacob's Well</i> , chap. XI. (ed. Brandeis, p. 74). |
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- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| B. | { | Jacques de Vitry, <i>Exempla</i> , ed. Crane, p. 48.
Eude de Cheriton, <i>Sermones super Evangeliiis Dominicalibus</i> , for Dom. V., post Nat. (Hervieux, <i>Fabulistes Latins</i> , IV., p. 275).
Wright, <i>Latin Stories</i> , no. CXLVI., p. 132 (from MS. Harl. 463, fol. 7(b)).
MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 26770, fol. 78(a), no. 32 in a so-called Jacques de Vitry coll.
<i>Magnum Spec. Exemp.</i> (Douai, 1603), dist. ix., ex. 18, p. 672. |
|----|---|---|

- C. { MS. Bib. Nat. lat. 18134, fol. 204(b) (no. 75 of a so-called Jacques de Vitry coll.).
Traité de Dévotion, ed. Cornu, *Romania*, XI., p. 387 (XIV. century Portuguese).
Met. Hom.

It should be explained, however, that the version of the *Vitae Patrum* varies from all the others in leaving out the fair youth who passed by. The angels informed the hermit that they held their noses on account of him rather than on account of the corpse. The question of the immediate source of our version is not easy to resolve. It is true that the reversal in taking the initiative from angel to hermit would easily come to pass. Yet there are three widely separated versions where this took place. Must one conclude that these three had a common origin, or that the change took place independently? At all events, it is safe to say that our legend comes, though perhaps not directly, from the example of the pseudo-Jacques de Vitry.

(36) The Story of Creation : Biblical.

(37) The Monk who was Harsh in Judging :

Two monks were living in a cell, and one of them saw a young man eat early on Friday. He judged the young man to be evil because he did so. Now this monk was holy and good. His fellow had spiritual sight to see and know the state of his heart, and when he came home he saw that he had lost his grace. He asked him what he had done to make God wrath. And the monk answered that he could think of no great sin. His fellow asked him if he had spoken with any man. He said that on the day before he had reproved a man because he ate early, thinking that on Friday he might remain fasting till noon, but that perhaps he had not done well, because he did not feel the man's hunger. So the two prayed that God forgive him, and after a fortnight of prayer he regained the grace which he had lost.

I have found this version only in Caxton's *Vitas Patrum*, fol. 263, where it appears in a disquisition on judging one's neighbors. It is, however, similar to another story told by Robert of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne* (ed. Furnivall, p. 314) which he took from Étienne de Besançon, *Alph. Narr.* (MS. Bib. Nat. lat. 15913, no. 1). A parish priest of discretion had two evil parishioners. He asked God whether he ought to forbid them the sacrament. God replied that the sin would rest on the evil-doers but granted the priest the power of seeing

who received the blessed bread worthily. So when the priest went to mass he saw some faces radiant, some black, some red, etc. (William of Wadington does not give this.)

(38) The Hermit and Saint Oswald :

Stories tell us that of old in England there were seven kings. One of them lived at Bamborough in Northumberland, whose name was Oswald and who is now a saint. In his land a hermit called Goodman lived beside a river. When he had lived thus for thirty years the hermit thought that no one was his peer in holiness. One day he sat on the river bank and watched two fishes in the stream. The larger was chasing the smaller and wished to eat it. The smaller one besought the greater to spare it for the sake of the holy hermit who was sitting on the bank. The greater refused, but when the other asked that it be spared for the love of King Oswald the request was granted. The hermit thought it wonderful that a king could be holier than he, and so he set out toward Bamborough. Soon he met the King who leaped from his horse and asked his blessing. The hermit told what he had heard from the fishes and asked about his life. The King disparaged his holiness, saying that he lived in jollity and wealth with his knights and that he was sinful. The hermit said that was impossible and asked that he might know something of his life in order to take example of it. 'So Oswald gave the hermit a ring and bade him take it to the Queen who would treat him as she was wont her husband. The hermit was graciously received by the Queen, clad in fine garments, and seated at her side before a sumptuous feast. But he was not allowed to eat the rich food brought to him, for it was given to the poor; and he turned away fasting from the little loaf of barley bread which was set before him. After the feast he was put to bed in the Queen's chamber. She kept him awake by kissing and embracing him till his passions rose. Then she called for help, and he was thrown into a vat of cold water and held there till all his teeth chattered. Again he was laid by the Queen and again she cried for help. This time he was dipped in "flome Jordane." Three times that night he was so served and the third time rolled in haircloth. In the morning the Queen called him and asked if he wished to be used longer as was the King. He said, "lange ynoghe have I bene kinge." She told him that probably he lived more at ease than did the King, for they had lived long in virginity by these means. She promised the hermit, moreover, clothing and meat as long as they should live. Thankfully he went his way.

This legend furnishes a curious example of "grafting." An anecdote from the *Vitæ Patrum* became, on the basis of one word, a *fabliau* with very different names but essential similarity of events. This story in turn was transferred to the sainted King Oswald of Northumberland. The progress from one form to another I have not been able to work out in detail, because of scanty materials, but there can be little doubt of the general truth of the statement as made above.

There are three anecdotes in the *Vitæ Patrum* which represent holy men enquiring for their counterparts in holiness. The first concerns St. Macharius (Migne, *Pat. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 778) who, wishing to know his peer in heaven, is told that two women far excel him in goodness. He visits them and finds that the secret of their virtue is that they have lived in perfect obedience to their husbands and have not been angry once in fifteen years. This story is told by William of Wadington and Robert of Brunne (ed. Furnivall, p. 62), who increase the period of good-temper from fifteen to twenty years. The second anecdote (Migne, LXXIII., col. 1006) is that of two hermits who visit Eucharistus and his wife, Maria. The third anecdote is the ancestor of the Oswald legend (Migne, LXXIII., col. 1171). It concerns the hermit Paphnutius, who learns from heaven that a certain *protocomes* (= admiral, cf. Du Cange) is superior to himself in goodness. He visits the man and finds him living in prosperity but severely.

From this last anecdote to the old French *fabliau*, "Du Prevost d'Aquilée ou d'un Hermite que la Dame Fist Baigner en Aigue Froide" (Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, II., p. 187) is a far cry. Yet the essential fact remains the same. The story runs thus: A hermit who had lived long in solitude learned from heaven that he was equalled in goodness by the Provost of Aquileia. He set out to find the officer, and after a toilsome journey met him riding out of the city with a gay company to hang a robber. On claiming hospitality he was given a ring for the lady as in our story. He reflected that he had wasted his time in long penance if he were no better than this knight. His adventures with the dame are told much as in the *Met. Hom.* He protested, however, at being compelled to occupy the lady's bed, and the dame by cajolery and her own strength, without calling for help, plunged him four times into a marble basin at the foot of the bed. A similar version is that of Jean Mielot, *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, no. 71 (ed. Warner, p. 76).

How the *fabliau* was transferred to North English hagiology is not at all clear. It does not appear in the recognized biographies of St. Oswald. The French *fabliau* must have been well enough known in England, but it is impossible to trace the intermediate steps by which the story was transferred to Oswald and by which the minor miracle of the speaking fishes was added. The version printed by Méon must be regarded as the form whence our legend came, because the hermit of Mielot had lived only *ten* years in solitude instead of thirty.

The only reference to the story as applied to Oswald which I know is a short narrative by John Herolt, who wrote about the middle of the XIV. century. He gives the hermit the name of Simeon. *Prompt. Exemp.*, A, ex. 7: "Item legitur de sancto Oswaldo rege, qui in virginitate vixit cum uxore sua. Symeon ermita in eremo viginti septem annis vixerat, & petivit a Domino cum quo remunerari deberet, responsum accepit, quod cum Oswaldo rege, & doluit, & venit ad regem, qui indutus fuit regalibus vestibus, sed ab intra fuit flagellatus, & cilicium ad cutem habuit."

(39) Theophil:

In the city of Cizile lived a good bishop who had a clerk named Theophil. This man was chaste and well-beloved by all good men. The bishop died, and the people chose Theophil for his successor. But Theophil was made falsely humble by the fiend, and notwithstanding all their pleading and the command of the archbishop before whom they brought him he would not consent to take the bishopric. So the archbishop made another bishop, who at first kept Theophil in his office but soon was influenced by malicious reports inspired by the devil to put him out of his administration. For a while Theophil lived none the less in goodness and did alms; but he yielded at length to sorrow and brooded on his lost power. He began to devise how he could regain his mastery by witchcraft and went by night to a Jew who then lived in the city and who sent many souls to hell. The Jew let him in when he knocked, heard his tale, and promised him help if he would come at the same time on the following day. The next night the Jew led Theophil to a hill where he saw many people in rich attire gathered round a king. The Jew told the devil that he had brought the bishop's clerk who wished for help. The fiend promised Theophil that he would give him greater wealth than before if only he would renounce Christ and Mary. This Theophil in great joy promised to do and wrote an agreement to that effect which he sealed with his own ring. That same night the bishop had a dream by which he

knew that he had done Theophil wrong, so in the morning he restored him to his office according to the devil's promise. Theophil was now in greater honor and power than ever and thanked the Jew for his help, promising to remain the devil's man. So he lived long, but at last was moved by God to repentance and bewailed his folly. At length, almost in despair, he thought of Mary and prayed before her altar, adjuring her to show her might by delivering him. Fourteen days he remained before her altar in tears, and at the end of that time as he slept she appeared to him, and after his humble confession and argument that she would never have been God's Mother but for sin, she promised to intercede for him. After that he remained for three days in prayer, until she again appeared and said that Christ had granted him forgiveness. He asked then another boon, that he might receive again the charter which he had written. As he lay asleep on the third night she laid the writing on his breast. When he woke he went with great joy to the church where the bishop and people had gathered for Sunday service. After mass he met the bishop as he was turning from the altar to preach and told him all his case. The bishop read the charter to the people and bade them take example from Theophil's sin and repentance. He commanded that the agreement should be burned, and said a mass joyfully. When he was houselled Theophil went home, resigned his office, gave his goods in alms and lived in the service of Mary till his dying day.

The legend of Theophilus is one of the most popular of the Middle Ages. He was *vicedominus* of the bishop of Cilicia in the VI. century. This name was by the later writers confounded with Sicily, whence the Cizile of our version. The source¹ of the legend is the life of Theophilus written in Greek by Eutychius who represents himself as a member of the saint's household. Two MSS. of the Greek are extant, cod. Coislin, no. 283, and cod. Vindob., both printed by Jubinal, *Rutebeuf*, II., pp. 332-357. Two translations were made from the Greek, one by (1) Paulus Diaconus (see *Acta Sanct.*, Feb. tom. I., die 4, p. 483 ff.), the other by (2) Gentianus Hervetus (see Surius, *De probatis Sanctorum historiis*, I., p. 823 ff.). According

¹ Henri Strohmayr, *Rom.*, XXIII., p. 601 ff. takes the ground that the Theophilus legend arose as a variant of the Proterius legend which first appeared in the ninth cent. life of St. Basil of Cæsarea by Amphilochius, and which was also the prototype of the Cyprian and Julian legend. This view assumes too much without proof, since the class of stories in which devil-dealing played a part was exceedingly large. The Proterius legend is, indeed, more like no. 20 (q. v.).

to the commentator in *Acta Sanct.* Simon Metaphrastes somewhat later than the time of Paulus revised the Greek of Eutychius, and it was from this recension that Gentianus made his translation. For a general discussion of the Latin versions as well as of the critical literature, see Kölbing, Ueber die englischen Fassungen der Theophilussage, *Beiträge zur vergleich. Geschichte der rom. Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters.*

(3) In the XI. century Fulbertus, Bishop of Chartres, told the story in a *Sermo de natura B. M. V.*, *Sermones ad Populum*, no. IV. (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, CXLI., col. 323). He refers to the legend as to something well known, and vaguely cites "scriptura quædam" as his authority. He in turn became an authority for others, and is cited by Jacques de Voragine and the anonymous author of a *Libellum de Beata Virgine.*

Other Latin versions are the following, most of which are descendants of (1). Those which I have not myself been able to examine are marked with the asterisk.

(4) Marbodes, a metrical form of the XI. century, when the author was bishop of Rennes. *Acta Sanct.*, Feb. tom., I., die 4.

(5) Hroswitha of Gandersheim, ed. by Dasent, *Theophilus in Icelandic, Low German, and other tongues*, 1845, p. 81 ff. (see Kölbing, Ueber die engl. Fassungen, p. 3; Ludorff, *Forrest's Theophilus-legende, Anglia*, VII., 61).

* (6) Canisius (see Sommer, *De Theophili cum Diabolo Fœdere*, 1844, p. 11).

* (7) Del Rio (see Sommer, *De Theophili cum Diabolo Fœdere*, 1844, p. 11).

(8) Sigibertus Gemblacensis, *Chronica*, Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, CLX., col. 102 (see Sommer, p. 13; Kölbing, p. 3).

(9) Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. XXI., cap. 69 and 70.

* (10) Herculis Vincemalæ, *Miracula Mariæ Virginis*, Mediol. 1579, (Kölbing, p. 3; Ludorff, p. 61).

* (11) Florentius Radewin, ed. with an introduction by W. Meyer, *Sitzungsberichten der philos.-philol. Abtheilung der k. bairischen Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1873 (see Ludorff, p. 61).

(12) MS. Bib. Nat. lat. 2333 A, fol. 115, ed. Weber in Gröber's *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, I., p. 523 ff. (Ludorff, p. 61).

(13) Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CXXXI. (ed. Graesse, p. 593); cap. CLXXXIX. (ed. Graesse, p. 871).

(14) *Libellum de Beata Virgine*, no CXXX., MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134, fol. 82(b).

(15) MS. Bib. Nat. lat. 5267, fol. 19(b).

(16) " " " " 5268, fol. 5(a), no. VI.

(17) " " " " 5562, fol. 15(b).

(18) " " " " 12593, fol. 149 (b).

(19) " " " " 14463, fol. 3(b), no. VIII.

(20) " " " " 17491, fol. 141(b).

(21) " Balliol 240, no. II.

(22) MS. Brit. Mus. Cott. Cleop., C. 10, fol. 104(a), no. II.

(23) Johannes Junior, *Scala Celi*, De ambitione, fol. 6(b).

(24) Étienne de Besançon, *Alph. Narr.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 53(a).

(25) Herolt, *De Miraculis Beatæ Virginis*, ex. 43.

The last two, of which Herolt is a derivative of Étienne, make no mention of the Jew but have proceedings with the devil extend over three nights.

In old French a well-known version is that of Gautier de Coincy, *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, p. 30. This is the longest version which I know, but gives the events much as in *Met. Hom.* A somewhat shorter metrical version (2032 lines instead of 2090) contained in MS. Bibl. Nat. fran. 375, is simply a manuscript variant of this. In Rutebeuf (ed. Jubinal, II., p. 79; Kraessner, p. 206), is *Le Miracle de Théphile* in quasi-dramatic form. The Jew is here called Salatius. Jubinal also prints, p. 327 ff., a short *Prière de Théphile*; and a longer *Li Priere Theophilus* appeared in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*, I., 247, edited by A. Scheler. In MS. Egerton 612, which contains the collection by the poet self-styled Adgar, is a version which has been edited by Weber in Gröber's *Zts.*, I., p. 531 ff. The story, told in French prose, is contained in *Miracles de la Vierge*, no. 28, MS. Bib. Nat. fran., 410, fol. 20(b). This is, however, of the XV. century. François Villon also makes reference to the legend in a *Ballade Que Villon Feit al a Requeste de sa Mère pour Prier Nostre-Dame* (ed. Jannet, p. 55).

For the versions in German, Dutch and Icelandic, see Kölbing, Ludorff, and also Gering, *Islendzk Æventyri*.

In English three different versions¹ of the legend are extant:

¹ Also a short abstract by Ælfric, *Sermones Catholici*, De assumptione, ed. Thorpe, I., 448.

(1) That of the South-English Legendary, printed by Horstmann, *Early South-English Legendary*, 1887, p. 288, from MS. Laud 108. For a discussion of the various MSS. in which this legend is preserved see further, Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, neue Folge, p. xlv ff.

(2) That of the North English Homily Collection, where it appears in all the MSS. which are complete. See tables in Part I.

(3) That of William Forrest who wrote in the XVI. century. Found in MS. Harl. 1703, and edited by Ludorff, *William Forrest's Theophiluslegende*, *Angl.*, VII., p. 60 ff.

Kölbing in his study, *Die engl. Fassungen*, above cited, leaves the ultimate sources of the English versions undecided. He finds, however, that the northern form (of which he unfortunately used the MSS. of the expanded and therefore more corrupt collections) belongs to a group composed of the Dutch version¹ and two Icelandic versions,² together with the legends in English (p. 38). He conjectures a long Latin version from which the versions in vernacular may have proceeded. It remains to be noticed that Kölbing has printed the legend from MSS. Harl. 4196 and Vernon in *Engl. St.*, I., 16-57, *Die jüngere engl. Fassung der Theophilussage*.

(40) The Adulterous Priest :

A holy parish priest had a dear friend who lived next door to him. The friend and his good wife died leaving a little daughter destitute. Her kin forsook the child, so the priest took her home and nourished her till she grew up and ruled his house. At length the fiend tempted him with lust (so great is the folly for priest or clerk to have a woman near) and made him sin with the maiden. He repented soon and thought to slay himself. He put the woman away, but would not for shame make confession to a priest. So he began terrible penance to cleanse his soul, and thus lived for a twelvemonth. At the end of that time he thought that God had forgiven his sin and so went to the altar to sing mass. But the host vanished from his sight. Another year he fasted and did penance without shrift, and at the end he tried once more to celebrate mass. Again God's flesh and blood vanished. Then he knew that he must confess before he could be forgiven. When he was shriven to a priest he celebrated mass and found three wafers instead of one before him. So he ate the three and thanked God for the miracle.

¹ Theophilus, gedicht der XIV^e eeuw, uitgegeven door Ph. B[lommaert], 1836.

² Ed. Dasent, above cited, 1-28 ; and Unger, *Mariu Saga*, 402-421, 1080-1090. See Gering, II., note to 137.

A story in Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, and William of Waddington's *Manuel des Pechiez* (ed. Furnivall, p. 300) bears some resemblance to this. St. Gregory tells of a priest who seduced his god-daughter. When she was nearly grown up he asked her parents to let her stay with him one Easter-tide. He got drunk that night and lay with her. Though he knew he had sinned he preferred to go to church and incur God's displeasure rather than remain at home and be suspected by men. For six days all went well, and the priest thought God had forgotten,

"Or thoȝt þat he hadde hyt for ȝyue
And hym nydede nat þer of be schryue."

But on the seventh day he died, and soon after fire burst from his grave, utterly devouring the body.

I cannot find the reference in Gregory's works.

(41) The Thrifty Gardener :

There was once a poor but generous gardener who gave all he could spare to the poor. Satan put it in his thought to save against his old age, so that he left his charity and gathered a boot full of pennies. It happened that his foot became sore and began to rot. He sent after wise leeches and spent his pennies fast, but he got no help. When all the money was gone and his foot was worse than ever he called a wise leech who told him that the foot must be cut off or he would die. The leech promised to come on the next day and cut off the limb. That night the gardener lay on his bed and, bewailing his folly in leaving charity, prayed God for help. When he had prayed he saw an angel standing by, who said :

"Where es now þi penyse, whare
þt þou so bisi was to spare?"

The gardener acknowledged his fault and was healed by a touch of the angel. The next morning he went early to work. When the leech came he saw him in the field and praised Our Lord.

This story is from the *Vitæ Patrum*, lib. V., or *Verba Seniorum*, by an unknown Greek author (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 892). Most of the other versions refer to this, though several of them tell the story very briefly. I have found the following examples :

Speculum Morale, lib. III., dist. XVIII., pars VII.

Paraldus, *Summa Virt. ac Vitiorum*, lib. II., fol. 52(b).

Bromyard, *Summa Prædicantium*, E, III., 45.

Johannes Junior, *Scala Celi*, De avaritia, fol. 15(a).

Herolt, *Prompt. Exempl.*, exem. E, XI.

Jacob's Well, chap. XVIII. (ed. Brandeis, p. 125).

Caxton's *Vitas Patrum*, fol. 247.

The story is also given as no. 18 in a collection of Latin fables and exempla published by A. Tobler, *Zts. für romanische Phil.*, XII., pp. 57-88, from MS. Hamilton 390, Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin. No reference is made to the *Vitæ Patrum*, nor is the man represented as a gardener, although the general course of events is the same.

(42) The Wicked Brother of a Monk :

St. Gregory tells us that once a clerk made himself a monk and became very holy. He had a brother who was worldly and loved nothing but folly. The brother lived in the abbey and was a sorrow to all, yet was endured for the sake of the good monk. The abbot gave him clothing and food, for he was n'er-do-well. He fell sick and at last drew near to death. The brothers came to pray for him, and as they stood beside his bed they saw that he suffered torment. As he lay tossing about he saw an ugly dragon approaching prepared to strangle him. He cried out and besought the monks to leave him, as he was the certain prey of the dragon. They, however, prayed all the faster and bade him pray. He said he could not, because the dragon lay upon him and had his head in its mouth so that his cheeks were wet with the foam. Still the monks prayed and with such effect that the dragon ran away. The sick man thanked God and amended his life, so that he lived and died a holy man.

This tale comes ultimately from Gregory the Great to whom it is referred. Indeed, it is very probable that our author took it directly from his works, since they were widely circulated in England. It is found both in the *Homilies* and *Dialogues*. The former is more nearly like our version. It begins: "Ante biennium frater quidam in monasterium meum quod juxta beatorum martyrum Joannis et Pauli Ecclesiam situm est, gratia conversationis venit, qui diu regulariter tractatus, quandoque susceptus est." *Homilia, lib. II., hom. 38* (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXVI., col. 1292). The brother is said to have followed the monk because of "carnali amore." In the version of the *Dialogues* (lib. IV., cap. 38, Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXVII., col. 389) the brother is named, "Theodorus nomine, puer fuit, qui in monasterium meum, fratrem suum necessitate magis quam voluntate secutus est."

The version of the *Dialogues* is that given by Étienne de Besançon in the *Alphabetum Narrationum* (MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 59(a)), who ascribed it to Gregory. Without reference to Gregory and without names is the version of John Herolt, *Sermones de Tempore*, sermo, 121.

A variant with a different ending occurs in the *Speculum Morale*, lib. II., dist. IV., pars I. With no justification it is referred to Bede. "Idem etiam narrat de quodam fabro, qui propter necessitatem operum, in quodam monasterio sustentatus a fratribus, irreligiose vivebat." He was taken sick and said that he saw hell yawning before him with Satan, Caiphaz and the others who slew Christ in the abyss. He was exhorted to repent, but was unable to do so and died in his sins.

(43) Saint Pelagia :

In Antioch lived a woman called Dame Pelagia who was a harlot of such fame that she attracted dukes, earls and barons from many towns, and other men from all nations. Now the archbishop of that city made a great assembly of bishops. It happened that they met in a public place where they spoke of the needs of the soul. As they sat there Pelagia rode by to show her beauty to the multitude. She was richly clad and followed by a crowd of men, young and old. When they saw her all the bishops covered their eyes with their hoods except one who gazed long upon her to the great wonder of his fellows who esteemed him holy. At length he began to weep and counselled the bishops concerning her, confessing that he had almost been led astray. That night he dreamed that as he was singing mass he saw a black and stinking bird fly about his head, that while he was going homeward he saw the bird again and cast it into a stone basin filled with water, whence it came out white as snow and flew towards heaven. The next day, while he was preaching, Pelagia came to the church to show her beauty, but she was so moved that, to the wonder of the people, she began to weep for her sins. Later she sent the bishop a letter praying for the love of Christ that she might come to him to learn how to leave her sin. He sent word that she might see him but only in the presence of the other bishops. This she did and fell at his feet begging his pity. He told her that she could only be received into the church if sponsors would stand for her. At this she cried out the more and told of her penitence. So all the bishops sent word to the bishop of the city, who sent a prioress called Romaine to be sponsor at the baptism. St. Nomnus asked Pelagia her name. She said Pelagia by right, though men called her Margaret for her beauty. She

made confession of her sins, was baptized, and placed in the care of the prioress. That day as they all sat together at a feast they heard groans and weeping — the devil lamenting for the souls which he had lost that day in Eliopolis. At the sign of the cross made by Pelagia he flew away but returned to her on the third night and again lamented his loss. On the morn, after she had called her servants together and given them a thousand gold bezants, she brought her wealth to Nomnus and bade the saint distribute it all in alms. That same day she put off her good clothing and in the night escaped secretly to the Mount of Olives. There she lived in a little house as a man and was known as Pelagius. Now the bishop had a clerk named John who asked leave to go to Jerusalem on pilgrimage. The bishop, knowing through the Holy Ghost where Pelagia had gone, gave the clerk permission and told him to enquire after Dan Pelagius. The clerk soon came to Jerusalem and heard of the holy hermit, whom he visited but did not recognize, though Pelagia knew him. He told her of Nomnus, and she asked for the prayers of that holy man, then barred again her doors. Two days later the clerk returned and found her dead. He spread the news, and when the other hermits came to wash the body they found that Pelagius was a woman. Then he knew that it was indeed Pelagia, and praising God he returned to tell the news at home.

The source of the Pelagia legend is a life of the saint by Jacobus Diaconus, who represents himself as the disciple who found her living at Jerusalem as Pelagius. Printed in *Acta Sanct.*, Oct., tom. IV., die 8, p. 262. Pelagia's date is 290 A.D.

Dr. Horstmann, *Über Osbern Bokenam*, p. 3, has the following note upon Pelagia and the related legend: "Die mythischen sind entweder durch Umwandlung antiker Gottheiten und Mythen in christliche Heilige und Legenden entstanden: wie (nach Useners Annahme, in s. *Legenden der Pelagia*, 1879) die an der kleinasiatischen Küste auftauchenden hh. Pelagia, Marina, Margarita, Pelagia, Eugenia, Theodora alle nur Metamorphosen der asiat. Aphrodite (Aphr. pelagia, Venus marina) sind, oder wie die Siebenschläfersage aus dem Kabylenkultus abgeleitet scheint."

The legend of Marina is given in the present collection as Mawryne (no. 16). To the list in Horstmann should be added Porphyria who became Pelagia. *Vita Johan. Elymosinarii*, in *Vitæ Patrum* (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIII., col. 377). It bears some resemblance to the Thaisis legend (see no. 34).

The Pelagia legend is found in Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. CL. (ed. Graesse, p. 674). In this version the order of events is somewhat different. There is no assembly of bishops; the good bishop is called Veronus of Heliopoleos (or Damieta); the abbess Romana is not mentioned nor any sponsor, and the letters between Pelagia and the bishop are differently arranged. This version appears again in Jean de Vignay's translation, fol. 195(a), and in Caxton's *Golden Legend*. In English there is also the free and somewhat expanded paraphrase in *Barbour's Legend Collection* (ed. Horstmann, II., p. 74; Metcalfe, II., p. 204).

The *Met. Hom.* legend does not belong to this group, however, and probably comes directly from the life by Jacobus Diaconus. This is proved by likeness in order as well as by similarity in names. Nonnus of the original becomes Nomnus, and Romana Romaine. To the same group belongs the Pelagia of *An Old English Martyrology* (ed. Herzfeld) where it is told for Oct. 19. Also in Caxton's *Vitas Patrum*, fol. 62.

(44) The Knight who forgave his Enemy :

There was once a knight who slew another in combat and held himself in a castle to avoid the son of the latter who had sworn vengeance. On a Good Friday he saw the folk going barefoot to church, and he determined to go forth himself.

“ ‘Haue I,’ he saide, ‘no lyfe bot ane.’ ”

Soon he met his enemy, who lay in wait, and in answer to the reproaches of the young knight he fell to his knees crying mercy for the love of Christ. Moved by the appeal the knight not only forgave his father's slayer, but kissed him and went with him to the church. At the mass he was courteous and put the old knight first in making offering to the cross. When at length he knelt devoutly to kiss the image, the figure on the rood embraced and kissed him. So he and all the people praised God.

This well-known legend, which appears in several forms, probably was first connected with the life of San Giovanni Gualberto, the founder of Vallombrosa, who lived in the 11th century. Two early biographers, Beato Andrea, Abbate Strumensi, and Attone gave the legend in its first form. *Acta Sanct.*, Jul., tom. III., die XII. (reprinted by Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, CXLVI., col. 667 and col. 765). A Florentine noble in the time of Emperor Henry, Gualbertus by name, had two sons, Ugo and Johannes. The latter was especially

loved by all. A certain man killed "quemdam propinquum ejus." One day this man met Johannes in a narrow way on a hill-slope, and in fear leaped from his horse to kneel at the feet of the knight. Craving pardon he made the sign of the cross with his arms. This moved Johannes' pity, who allowed the enemy to go in peace. Later he went into a church, where the crucifix bent his head to show approval.

The *Commentarius* in *Acta Sanct.*, p. 311, says that the *Breviarium Romanum* and later writers speak of Ugo as having been killed and of the pardon taking place on Good Friday. It suggests that these changes were brought about by the influence of Petrus Damianus (see Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, CXLV., col. 654), who has the story of a man who killed another of higher rank than himself. He was pursued by the son of the slain with thirty followers. He himself had but five attendants and so begged for mercy by the cross which he made. Here the image in a church not far off bowed *three* times.

From this to the later versions the changes were easily made. The tale appears in Cæsar von Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.*, dist. VIII., cap. XXI., beginning "Temporibus nostris in provincia nostra." The events run thus: A murderer was pursued and pardoned by the son of his enemy. The young knight shortly afterwards crossed the sea on a crusade, and when he entered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the crucifix bowed to him. Étienne de Besançon reproduces this version exactly in *Alph. Narr.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 56(a), referring to Cæsarius and placing the events in Theutonia. The version of *Jacob's Well*, chap. XL. (ed. Brandeis, p. 252) also refers to Cæsarius and Theutonia but here the ending is the more common one of the *Met. Hom.* The image said: "þou forgyue þis knygt þi faderis deth for my loue & kyssed hym; þer-fore I for geue þe alle þi synnes & kysse þe."

The German version, in Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst* (ed. Oesterley), no. 692, lays the scene in Florence and gives the form of popular tradition where the brother was slain and they went arm-in-arm to church of "Sancti Amenati."

John Herolt in the XIV. century gave two Latin versions: one in *Sermones de Tempore*, no. 130, where the young knight met the elder going to church unarmed, though he had not previously been able to find him; another in *Prompt. Exemp.* I, ex. 16, referred to Gulielmus. In the latter, perhaps from a recollection of the Burgundian hero, the man slain was named Guntherus. His brother, who is not named, had set out on a pilgrimage with a great company and unex-

pectedly encountered the murderer. Three times the noble, urged on by his followers, was on the point of killing his brother's foe but at length pardoned him. That day as he knelt three times before a crucifix the image each time bowed to him. Only a holy man saw who questioned the knight and learned the good deed he had done.

Most like the version of the *Met. Hom.*, is that of William of Wad- ington and Robert of Brunne (ed. Furnivall, p. 120). This is the only other example I have found where the slayer held himself in his castle and only went out on Good Friday. According to this account the knight had remained for twelve months in his "best castel." The image took his arm off the cross to embrace the young knight. Either the French treatise or its translation is the probable immediate source of our tale.

A curious variant of the legend is told by Roger of Wendover, *Chronica* (ed. Hewlett, III., p. 22). A vassal of King Richard was caught hunting in the domain of the King, New Forest, and was banished the realm. Reduced to beggary he entered a church in Normandy where Richard was worshipping. He bowed humbly before the cross, and every time he knelt the image bowed his head. The King saw this and asked the man what he had done to merit such honour. The knight narrated that in youth he had lost his father, and when he grew up he pursued the murderer. The latter avoided him till Good Friday when he went unguarded to church. The young knight overtook him at a wayside cross, but pardoned him when he embraced the cross and promised to build a chapel there for the victim's soul. So when he heard the story Richard too was merciful and restored the knight to his lands.

(45) St. Gregory and Trajan's Soul :

Trajan was an emperor of Rome, who, though he lived and died a heathen, was a good man. Many winters afterward Gregory, the Pope of Rome, passed before the emperor's gate and wept that such a good king should have gone to hell. So great was his pity, that he prayed before the high altar that the soul of Trajan might be brought out of hell. As he prayed, he fell asleep and heard an angel say that Christ had granted his prayer but that he must never again pray for those who had gone to hell.

This legend of Gregory the Great is told in the life of the saint by Johannes Diaconus, II., 44 (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXV., col. 104). Other references are these :

Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. XLVI. (ed. Graesse, p. 196).

Paraldus, *Summa Virt. ac Vit.*, lib. I., pars II., tract. II., cap. IV. (fol. 17(a)).

Étienne de Besançon, *Alph. Narr.*, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 65(a).

Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Anglorum*, I., 25 (ed. Arnold, p. 23). *Flores Historiarum*, I., 283 (ed. Luard, I., p. 291).

La Vie de S. Grégoire par Frère Angier (ed. Meyer, *Rom.*, XII., p. 186).

Secreta Secretorum, ed. Steele, p. 169.

(46) The Imprisoned Jews:

God chose a people called the Jews for his own. They were descended from twelve brothers and received countless benefits from God, yet they forsook Him many times and as many times were punished. The King of Babylon had many Jews in his realm, and for their wickedness he drove them into a wilderness surrounded by high hills and commanded that they should never come out. Many winters afterward King Alexander who had conquered the world came there. The Jews prayed him that they might have leave to come out. He asked them, as books tell us, why they were shut up in the hills. A man answered that they had forsaken their God who had done more for them than for any other people. When Alexander heard this he commanded that walls of masonry be built so that the Jews should never get out. But what was built by day fell down by night. Seeing this Alexander prayed that God would bring the hills together to make high walls. North, south, east, and west the hills were bound together by his prayer, so that nothing but flying fowl can escape. There the Jews shall remain till Doomsday, when they will go out to slay Christians and receive Antichrist, thinking him the true Christ.

For the history of this Christian legend grafted upon the oriental romances of Alexander the Great, see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*, 1890; Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, 1889, and *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, 1896, and Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du Moyen Age*, 1886.

All the legendary tales of Alexander are based upon the Greek history falsely attributed to his companion, Callisthenes. The pseudo-Callisthenes lived not later than 200 A. D., and was probably an

Egyptian.¹ The Christian legend, of which the story of the Caspian gates forms a part, is found in the metrical discourse of Jacob of Sêrûgh († 521)² in Syriac,³ to whom it owes its main character, especially the use of biblical names. A prose Syriac version printed by Budge, *Hist. of Alex.*, was somewhat earlier than this but was written by some one who knew the inroads of the Huns into Europe in the fifth century, because they replace the people of Gog and Magog of the earlier version. Both these works are "based upon the twenty-ninth chapter of the third book of Pseudo-Callisthenes."⁴ An Ethiopic version is inserted into the romance in that tongue printed by Budge, *Life and Exploits*. Various other references in Greek and oriental writings are given by Budge, Nöldeke, and Meyer, but in all of these the wall is made against the Huns or the forces of Gog and Magog.

The reference in Josephus is the only one which need be mentioned here, since Josephus is cited as authority by Petrus Comestor († 1178). The latter follows, however, the more distinctly Christian form of Jacob of Sêrûgh in his account found in the *Historia Scholastica*, lib. Esther, cap. V. (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, CXCVIII., col. 1498); and his is the indirect original, at all events, of our version. The second part of the story as related by Peter and the author of *Met. Hom.* is also given by Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. IV., cap. 43; by Holkot, *Opus sup. Sap. Salomonis*, lect. CXCVIII.; and in *Flores Hist.*, ed. Luard, I., p. 65.

The version more common in western Europe was that based upon the tenth century translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes by the Neapolitan Archbishop Leo, the *Historia Alexandri Magni de Præliis*. This appears in the French romance in alexandrines, where after conquering Gog and Magog Alexander encloses them in the mountains of "Tus" whither they had fled.⁵ Meyer regards "Tus" as a corruption of "mons Caspius" or "mons Imaüs."⁶ We find two English references to this version: *Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, p. 84, *variant to line 12*, in homily from MS. Bod. NE. F. IV. 12; and *The Wars of Alexander*, ed. Skeat, p. 270.

¹ Budge, *Hist. of Alex.*, p. lxxvii.

² Nöldeke.

³ Given in trans. by Budge, *Hist. of Alex.*, p. 163 ff.

⁴ Budge, *Hist. of Alex.*, p. lxxvii.

⁵ Meyer, II., p. 386 ff.

⁶ II., p. 389.

(47) Tarsilla, Gordiana and Emiliana :

Gregory says that his father had three sisters who wished to be in religion. The eldest was named Tarsilla, the second Gordiana and the youngest Emiliana, who was held to be fair. A bishop gave them their nun's garb and taught them how to lead a holy life. They dwelt together in their own house. Tarsilla and Emiliana served God faithfully, but Gordiana became an evil woman. She loved to walk in the streets, to play and to sing, but she thought it wearisome to talk of holy things. Her sisters were made sorrowful on her account and reproved her, but to no purpose. She gave all her life to pleasure and longed to marry. After many years God wished to take Tarsilla from the woe of the world and in her sleep sent Felix, who had been Pope in his lifetime, to warn her. Soon after she died. Thereafter she appeared to Emiliana calling her to heaven. When both her sisters were dead, Gordiana stood in awe of no one and took a husband, thus breaking her covenant with God.

This story probably came directly to our author from the works of Gregory the Great, where it is told in the same form. *Homilia*, lib. II., 38 (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXVI., col. 1290). The story of Tarsilla's death is also found in the *Dialogues*, lib. IV., cap. XVI. (Migne, LXXVII., col. 348). The Felix mentioned is Felix III. (see note to the above, col. 348).

The author of the *Speculum Morale* relates the story but is not the source of our version, because he expressly states that Gordiana married her steward (*custos agrorum suorum*). *Spec. Mor.*, lib. III., dist. XXXVI., pars X.

(48) The Despised but Holy Nun :

St. Basil tells us of a nunnery where dwelt a woman who was entirely given up to God but who was considered evil by her companions because of her heavy countenance. They scorned her, called her "oule & vgly thyng," and made her do all the menial tasks of the convent. A holy hermit lived near by to whom God said that a woman lived in the nunnery far holier than he, and bade him go there in the morning. Thither he went and was well received by the nuns. He asked that all the nuns be called together, and when they were gathered he said that he missed the one on whose account he had come. They said that none lacked except a woeful wight who was unworthy to be seen. He asked, nevertheless, that she be brought, and when she had come he fell to his knees before her. She in turn bowed before him.

The nuns reproved him for kneeling to such a foul thing. But he told them of his message from God, so that they all fell down and asked the woman's forgiveness. She prayed God to forgive them but soon fled away by night from the place and was never heard of more. We believe that God took her into paradise.

Though this legend is referred to St. Basil by our author, it really comes from Heraclides Paradisus, cap. XXI. (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Lat.*, LXXIV., col. 299). The hermit Piterius was sitting in Porphyrite when an angel appeared and told him to go to the convent of Tabennensiotæ, where lived the holy sister. It is also found in Palladius, cap. XLI. (see Migne, LXXIV., par. 938); in the *Alph. Narr.*, of Étienne de Besançon, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913; and in *Jacob's Well*, chap. XII. (ed. Brandeis, p. 81). The latter two versions refer to Heraclides. All of them give the name of the hermit, which leaves the immediate source of our version conjectural though Étienne seems the most probable authority (see nos. 33 and 45).

(49) The Backbiting Monk :

There was a monk prone to backbiting. Though he bore monk's garb he was never monk in deed. At length he died. Afterwards another monk was praying one night in the cloisters for the quick and the dead. As he went about he saw a grinning monk sitting there who cut his tongue into morsels and ate it. This he did many times, and when he put out his tongue it glowed like hot iron. The monk who saw this hideous sight was frightened but yet conjured the other to tell him what he was. The woeful wight answered weeping and told his name. He said that he suffered this pain because he was wont to speak ill of his fellows behind their backs, and that he must ever remain in hell. When he had so spoken he disappeared.

The legend of the back-biting monk has two forms, that of the *Met. Hom.* where he was punished after death, and another where his torment began before he died. The second form seems to be the earlier, which a love for the marvellous changed into the more sensational version. According to Thomas Cantipratanus, who was suffragan bishop of Cambrai in the second half of the 13th century, we are to believe that the story originated with him. He says (*Bonum Univ. de Apibus*, ed. 1627, p. 389): "Huius rei vindictam horribilem valde & mirabilem vidi. Novi ordine, non re; nomine, non actibus sacerdotem, etc." He proceeds with the version where the monk was tortured before death. The same is given in *Spec. Mor.*, lib. III.,

dist. I., pars IV., and by John Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, D, ex. XI. In the former the event is said to have happened in England.

The mystical version of the *Met. Hom.* is found also in William of Wadington, *Le Manuel des Pechiez*, and Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (ed. Furnivall, p. 113). William says that the event happened in England and that he knows the place, though he won't tell what it is. Robert translated this statement. Though there are differences of detail between this version and ours and though that of the treatise is longer, it seems probable that this is the source whence the author of the *Met. Hom.* took the legend. The Latin version of John Bromyard, *Summa Prædicantium*, D, VI., 29, has this form, but it was not written till the second half of the 14th century.

(50) The Story of Esther: Biblical.

(51) The Widow's Candle:

A widow so loved Our Lady that she had made a chapel where she heard a mass each day. Once while her priest was gone Candle-mas came round. She was sad because she could have no mass and made her prayer alone in the chapel. There she fell asleep before the altar and dreamed that she was brought into a church whither came a great company of maidens with a lady. They sat down and were followed by men young and old. A clerk brought candles and gave them to all, even to her. Then entered two clerks bearing tapers and after them subdeacons and deacons followed by Christ in the robes of a mass-priest. A *Confiteor* was said, and afterward the mass. When the offertory came the lady offered her taper, and after her the others. But the widow would not give hers up. Then Our Lady sent word that she did wrong to keep the priest so long before the altar. She answered that she would never give up what God had sent her. The Lady commanded the messenger to take it by force. Yet the widow held fast, so that the candle broke between them, and she started out of sleep having the candle tightly clasped in both hands. She thanked God and treasured the candle till her death when it was given to an abbey, where it works miracles.

Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. XXXVII. (ed. Graesse, p. 165) has this story with one or two differences. He gives as an alternative reason why the lady did not hear mass, that she had given all her clothes to the poor and could not go to church. There is a distinction between her church and her private chapel. Also the saints Vincent and Lawrence are named as attending Christ in the

dream. This version is also found in MS. Brit. Mus. Arund. 506, fol. 52, and MS. Brit. Mus. Harl. 2316, fol. 18.

More like the *Met. Hom.* tale and its probable original (or a form parallel with that original) is the version of Jean Mielot in his *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, no. 6 (ed. Warner, p. 9).

(52) The Prioress who was Miraculously Delivered:

As the prioress of a nunnery was going about the needs of her abbey one day, she found before the gate a little female child. She took pity on the foundling and reared her. At length she made her a nun and loved her heartily. Indeed, she loved all her spiritual daughters and kept them from folly. For this she was loved by the good nuns but hated by the fools. The fiend had envy of her for her goodness and tempted her to lust, so that at last she fell into sin with her steward and conceived of him. She confided her trouble in the foundling whom she had reared, enjoining her to secrecy. This the nun promised, and proposed to the lady that when the child was born she should do away with it and bury it in the garden. So it was agreed. But the nun was false and betrayed the abbess to the bishop, who was made sad, because he had thought the prioress a good woman. The nuns, too, heard of her deed, and some were sorry but others were glad and sent letters to the bishop. He appointed a day to hear the case. When the day came the abbess was great with child and near delivery. That night she remained waking and praying in her chapel, with tears beseeching Our Lady to help her. Finally for weariness she fell asleep before the altar. Then came Our Lady and reproved her for her folly, but delivered her of a male child while she slept. Mary placed the infant in an angel's arm and bade him bear it to a hermit who lived more than seven miles away, and to tell the hermit that he should baptize and rear it. Then Mary disappeared; and the prioress woke and remained in prayer all the night. In the morning came the bishop and his clergy to give judgment. The bishop sent women to examine the prioress who were sworn to tell the truth. They found her a virgin. Then the bishop was angry with the nun who had given information and bade that she be burned. To save her the prioress told the bishop secretly all the truth. He sent to the hermit and found the child. When the boy was seven years old the bishop made him a good scholar, and he became the bishop's successor.

This *conte dévot* is very well known, but appears nowhere else, so far as I know, in the same form. The incident of the foundling nun

is either an invention of our author or something which he found in his immediate original, whether written or oral. Not one of the twenty other examples contain it. The ordinary course of the tale is this: An abbess, tempted by the devil, sins with a youth connected with her convent. The nuns who hate her write to the bishop. On the night before an intended examination she is miraculously delivered and the child sent to a hermit. The examination is triumphantly concluded and the wicked nuns forgiven after the abbess' secret confession.

The trait which varies most uniformly in all the representatives is the form of examination to which the abbess was subjected. Though only a minor point it furnishes a clue to the proper arrangement of the stories. The examiners were either: (A) two clerks (usually succeeded by the bishop himself); or (B) women whom the bishop had brought with him; or (C) form not specified.

A. In this group the bishop's name is usually given as Antistes.

It includes eleven representatives:

Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. VII., cap. 86. (Probably the earliest version here mentioned.)

Étienne de Besançon, *Alph. Narr.*, A, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 3(b), referred to *Mariale Magnum*.¹

Exempla de Beata Virgine, no. 39 (mentioned by Mussafia, I., p. 30 as no. 45), MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134, fol. 148(a).

Exempla, no. 2, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 5267, fol. 3(b).

" " 55, " " " " 14463, fol. 39(a).

" " 1, " " " " 17491, fol. 42(b).

" " " " " " 2333A, fol. 34(b).

Liber de Miraculis, Potho (ed. B. Pez., no. 36).

Latin Stories, ed. Wright, no. 38, p. 38 (from MS. Brit. Mus. Harl. 2316, fol. 6).

Jean Mielot, *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, no. 50 (ed. Warner, p. 44) (bishop not named).

Provençal version, translation of ordinary Latin type, ed. J. Ulrich in *Rom.*, VIII., p. 20 ff. as no. 8 in his collection of exempla from MS. Addit. 17920 in Brit. Mus.

Also a miracle-play of early 15th century (according to P. Paris) contained in MS. Bibl. Nat. fran. 819, fol. 14(a), appears to belong to this group.

¹ For a discussion of this work, now lost, and its attribution to Alexander de Hales, see *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XVIII., p. 321 (art. by Petit-Radel).

B. Most of the representatives of this group are in French, but the *Met. Hom.* version belongs to it. The number of women varies considerably, though five is the favorite number. The group has seven members which I have examined :

Miracula Virginis, MS. Harl. 2316, fol. 7(b), (the only Latin version).

Gautier de Coincy (from MS. Harl. 4401, fol. 45(b)), ed. Ulrich, *Zeitschrift f. r. Phil.*, VI., p. 334 (not printed by l'Abbé Poquet).

Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, II., p. 314.

Mielot, *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, no. 70 (ed. Warner, p. 73).

(The three above are similar metrical versions, but independent.)

Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux ou Contes*, V., p. 63 (an analysis of some French version, but not of one here mentioned).

Miracles de la Vierge, no. 31, MS. Bibl. Nat. fran. 410, fol. 22(b). *Met. Hom.*

The version from MS. fran. 410, though in 15th century prose and therefore far later not only than our version but also than any other here mentioned, has curiously enough a suggestion of the foundling-nun story. That is, it states that the abbess was tempted to destroy her child, though by whom tempted it does not say.

C. The five representatives which do not specify the form of examination are simply, I think, shortened forms of A :

Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes Hist.* (ed. Lecoy de la Marche, p. 114).

Miracula, no. 33, MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 5562, fol. 30(a).

“ “ 78, “ “ “ “ 12593, fol. 193(b).

Johannes Junior, *Scala Celi*, fol. 101(a).

Herolt, *De Miraculis*, B. V., ex. 25.

Scala Celi refers again to the *Mariale Magnum*, and proves the connection with group A.

To type A belongs also a story from MS. Balliol 240, no. 12 (referred to by Mussafia, III., p. 29). It is, however, remarkable, as being the only other version beside *Met. Hom.* which states that the abbess confided in a nun, here “ little by little.” The nun tells the archdeacon, the archdeacon the bishop. No mention is made as in the version of MS. fran. 410 and *Met. Hom.* of a plan to destroy the child. The existence of the nun in the original tale seems probable since she is found in both A and B. As will be seen our English version is, then, the most complete of any here treated.

(53) Saint Alexis :

In Rome was once a rich man named Eufemian whose wife was named Aglase. He was a senator and very rich. He had three thousand servants whom he clothed and fed daintily, and he was so charitable that he had always ready in his hall three boards, one for pilgrims, another for the poor, and a third for orphans. So they lived in wealth and holiness, and wanted nothing on earth but one. They had no child. At last God heard their repeated prayers and sent them a son. They gave thanks and christened the boy Alexis which means in our tongue, "Manne fullfilled of gode thewes." The child grew and became both learned and holy. When he had arrived at man's estate his father arranged that he marry a fair maiden of the emperor's kin, and brought her to his house. There was a great bridal with mirth and feasting and rich gifts. The poor were not forgotten, moreover. At length the bridal couple were put to bed. When all were gone out of the chamber Alexis preached to his bride of the blessedness of virginity, gave her jewels and also his gold ring, to be a token between them. He told her that he must go thence, into what land he could not tell. She replied meekly. He took silver and gold and rich clothing, and departed. Soon he found a ship and crossed the sea. He entered a city, changed his rich clothing for that of a beggar and fled fast away. For seven winters he lived as a beggar, clad in hair and eating only bread and water. When Eufemian missed his son he wept, as also did the mother. They sent messengers into every land to seek Alexis. Two of these messengers came where he was sitting as a beggar in the street. They did not know him, he was so changed by penance and hunger, and they gave him alms as well as to the other poor men that they might pray for the discovery of Alexis. Alexis thanked God that he had received alms of his own servants. The messengers went home and made the father sorrow, the mother weep and tear her hair and lament in sackcloth. The young wife wept and declared that she would remain faithful to her lost husband. The city was called Edissa where Alexis lived in poverty. One day as he prayed before an image of Our Lady she came to him and commended his prayers. Another time she appeared to a sacristan in the church and bade him take in the poor man of God. The sacristan found many poor men and so prayed Our Lady to tell him what man she meant. The image answered him that he would find God's servant sitting among the poor men. So he found Alexis who was sad that his goodness had been discovered. The

people heard of the miracle, and made Alexis sit in a fair seat, and spoke to him with fair words. He prayed to God in humility and on a dark night escaping from the city came to the town of Laodise. Thence he shipped for Tarsus where he wished to dwell in St. Paul's church. But God turned the winds and sent the ship to Rome. Alexis met his father coming from the church and prayed him, if he loved anyone gone on a pilgrimage, that he would give him help. Eufemian was reminded of his son and so took the poor man into his house, and gave him a chamber where he could go and come as he pleased, and commanded his servants to obey him. Thus Alexis lived for seventeen winters in the strictest penance, and he suffered patiently the insults of the wanton boys of the house who tried to frighten him at night, pulled his beard, and cast upon him the dish-washings. At length God sent tidings to him that he should die. Alexis thanked God and asked for ink and parchment with which he wrote his life and how he had lived in beggary for thirty-four years. This writing he clasped in his hand and soon died. It was Palm Sunday, and the people were gathered in church when they heard a voice saying: "Comes all to me þt suffirs pyne." The people fell on their knees and sang the Kyrie Eleison and again the voice spoke, bidding them seek God's servant, who lay sick in the city. At that moment Alexis died. The people sought but did not find the man indicated by the voice. On Good Friday the Pope and his clergy went early to the church as did the two emperors and many lay folk. They all thought upon the voice, and the Pope bade them pray that they might find who was meant. So they did and at length heard a voice say that they should find in Eufemian's house the body of Alexis. At this all were glad, for there had been great woe at his loss. The Pope and clergy asked Eufemian who knew of no such man. So in procession they sought the holy body, as the book tells. Eufemian inquired of his servants if they knew such a man, but to no purpose till the boy who served Alexis came running to say that his master had died that morning and that he had done great penance. Eufemian ran to him, called, found him lying in rags but marvellously sweet in odor. His bed was all of little stones and he was clad in hair. Eufemian told the Pope what he had found. The Pope addressed the body and took the parchment from its hand. He bade a clerk read it aloud. When this was done Eufemian began to weep and fell upon the dead body in sorrow. When Aglase heard the news she began to "roupe and rare," and to lament. The Pope dressed the body

richly and commanded that it be borne to the church. But so great was the crowd of sick and halt that they could not make way. The wise men of Rome thought of wiles and strewed pennies in the street, but scarcely could they even then bring the corpse to the church of St. Boniface. There was built a rich shrine for Alexis, and all sick men are healed who approach it.

The versions of the Alexis legend in various languages differ only in details; but an exhaustive comparison of them would require a separate and prolonged study, owing to the long and complicated nature of the narrative. The best accounts of the history of the legend are to be found in Massmann, *Sanct Alexius Leben*, 1843; G. Kötting, *Studien über altfranzösische Bearbeitungen der Alexiuslegende*, 1890; Amiaud, *La légende syriaque de Saint Alexis*, 1885; P. Müller, *Studien über drei dramatische Bearbeitungen der Alexiuslegende*, 1888.

The legend was exceedingly popular both in France and England. The original French metrical version of the 11th century was afterwards changed and expanded. It has been repeatedly printed in one form or another. It originated, according to M. Gaston Paris, in Normandy. A critical text of the various forms has been published by MM. Paris and Pannier, *Vie de Saint Alexis*, 1887. See also *Eine altfranzösische Alexius Legende aus dem 13 Jahrhundert*, ed. J. Herz; *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*, ed. Foerster and Koschwitz, I., p. 102; Gaston Paris in *Romania*, VIII., p. 163; Stengel, *La Cançon de Saint Alexis*.

English Versions:

There are six metrical versions in English, all of which have been printed including that from the *Met. Hom.*

I. MSS.	Laud 108, ed.	{	Horstmann, Herrig's <i>Archiv</i> , LI., p. 101.
			Furnivall, <i>Adam Davie's Five Dreams</i> , etc., 1878.
	Vernon, ed.	{	Horstmann, Herrig's <i>Archiv</i> , LVI., p.
			391. Furnivall, as above.
	Naples, XIII. B. 29.		
	¹ Durham, V. II. 14.		

¹ See Schipper, *Die zweite Version*, p. 232.

(MSS. Laud, Vernon and Naples, ed. in crit. edition, Schipper, *Alexius-legenden*, I., 1877.)

II. MSS.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Laud 463.} \\ \text{Trin. Coll.} \\ \text{Oxford 57.} \end{array} \right\}$	ed.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Horstmann, Herrig's Archiv, LVI.,} \\ \text{p. 401.} \\ \text{Furnivall, as above.} \\ \text{Schipper, } \textit{Die zweite Version der} \\ \text{mittelengl. Alexius-legenden,} \\ \text{1887 (a crit. ed. of the two} \\ \text{MSS.).} \end{array} \right.$
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III. MS. Laud 622, ed. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Furnivall, as above.} \\ \text{Horstmann, Herrig's Archiv, LIX., p. 79.} \end{array} \right.$

IV. *Barbour's Legend Collection*, ed. Horstmann, p. 210; Metcalfe, I., p. 441.

V. MS. Cott. Titus, A. XXVI., ed. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Furnivall, as above.} \\ \text{Horstmann, Herrig's Archiv,} \\ \text{LIX., p. 96.} \end{array} \right.$

VI. *Met. Hom.*, ed. from MSS. Ash. 42 and Camb. Gg, V. 31, by Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, Neue Folge, p. 174.

The Barbour version follows the *Legenda Aurea*, cap. XCIV. (ed. Graesse, p. 403) very closely; and the author of III. used the Latin life printed in *Acta Sanct.*, Jul. IV., p. 238 ff., according to Kötting. Whether our version came from one of the redactions of the French metrical version or from a prose *vita* in Latin I am unable at present to decide.

(54) Simon Magus:

In the time of Peter there began to preach in Rome a false man called Simon Magus. He said that he was the son of God, and by witchcraft he restored men to life. Peter preached against him and made Simon angry. Then a man died and was brought into a public place that Peter and Simon might try their power in raising him to life. Whoever failed was to be slain. First Simon made his spell of witchcraft, and the head of the dead man stirred. Then the people would have slain Peter, but he bade them make Simon go away and they would see that the man was still dead. So it proved. Then Peter

commanded him in the name of Christ to rise and tell what he knew of Simon. The man rose and told them that Simon was in the service of Satan. Then the people would have slain Simon had not Peter prevented them. Yet Simon did not cease to plot against Peter. He tied up a savage dog to see if Peter dared unloose it. Unsuccessful in this he fled from Rome for a twelvemonth. On his return he went to Nero and said that he had suffered both from Peter and Paul. He showed his power by changing into many forms, and asked the emperor to smite off his head that he might rise the third day and prove his godhead. To this Nero agreed and commanded his executioner so to do. Simon took a sheep's head and by enchantment made it like his own. He bribed the executioner to strike off the head in the dark, and so on the third day he appeared to Nero. Nero believed in him, but Peter and Paul said he was Satan. Then Simon accused them to the Emperor falsely as traitors. Brought before Nero Peter proved that Simon was full of treason and demanded that if he were God he should tell what Peter was thinking. The emperor said that this was reasonable. So Peter in private asked the emperor for a barley loaf and this he blessed. Then he asked Simon what he had said and done. Simon at this was woeful and called for his angels to slay Peter. There came forth black dogs, but they fled from the hallowed bread. Peter taunted him that his angels were of dog nature. Simon was angry and said that he would show his power of flying. So Nero caused to be made a high wooden tower from which by fiendish art Simon flew into the air. Again Nero believed him, but Peter commanded the fiends that bare him to let him fall. So Simon perished and his soul went to hell in thunder. But Nero in wrath commanded that Paul be beheaded and Peter crucified. This was done, Peter's cross at his own request being turned upside down.

This curious legend of Simon and the apostles, which reads like an account of a juggling contest, belongs to the earliest cycle of ecclesiastical legends. For the development of the tale in the apocryphal history of the apostles, see Lipsius, *Die apocryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, 1883-90, I., 126 ff.; II., 28 ff., 284 ff., etc., where the early versions are treated at great length. M. Foerster, *Über die Quellen von Ælfrics Homiliæ Catholicæ*, 1 legenden, 1892, p. 18 ff., makes a useful division of the Latin versions. (1) The resurrection of the man and the subjugation of the savage dog is represented by a letter of pseudo-Marcellus to the brothers Nereus and

Achilles found in *Acta Sanct.*, Mai 12, III., 9. (2) The other events are included in what is usually called *Passio Petri et Pauli*, printed in *Anonymi Philalethi Eusebiani in vitas miracula passionisque apostolorum rhapsodiæ*, Köln, 1531 (see Lipsius, II., 284).

These versions must have been welded by the 10th cent., since they are found in the combined form in Ælfric, *Homilia Catholica*, ed., Thorpe I., 370. Though it is possible that he joined the two versions, it appears more probable that he simply translated a Latin version which had previously welded the two. The earlier versions in English of Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 98, and of the *Blickling Homilies*, ed. Morris, p. 171, are simply free renderings of the *Passio* mentioned above.¹

It is probable that our version was taken from the *Legenda Aurea*, cap. LXXXIX. (ed. Graesse, p. 371), with which it agrees in all essentials. I can find no evidence that the compiler knew Ælfric, and he certainly knew Jacques de Voragine.

Simon's melodramatic end is similar to that of an evil-doer, of whom it is related in the life of St. Patrick by Jocelyn (end of the 12th cent.), and in that attributed to Bede, that he was raised from the ground by devils, but was dashed down and killed by the prayer of the saint. See San Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 51. This is, of course, a case of "grafting."

(55) The Wise Son :

A certain knight had two sons. One of them was fond of hunting and followed his father to the war. The other loved learning and was very holy. During the knight's absence the latter entered a monastery and became a monk. His father in great anger led a force against the abbey and swore to destroy it unless his son were given up. In alarm the abbot besought the monk to go out and appease his father. So the young man went forth and promised to leave the monastery if one custom of the land were changed. The knight asked what this was. The young man said he meant the custom that both young and old should die. The father was so moved by this that he left the world and became a monk.

By Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes Hist.* (ed. Lecoy de la Marche, p. 58) this story is told of a lord of Vignori, who had a son, a soldier, who heard the soldiers of God singing as he passed Clairvaux. The

¹ Foerster, p. 18, note.

editor says concerning Vignori in a note, "Sans doute, Vignory (Haute-Marne)."

Other versions are :

MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 18134, fol. 206(a), as no. 80 of *Exempla* ascribed to Jacques de Vitry.

MS. Bibl. Nat. lat. 15913, fol. 25(a), *Alph. Narr.* of Étienne de Besançon.

MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 26770, fol. 78(b), as no. 34 of a collection ascribed to Jacques de Vitry.

Early English Versions of Gesta Rom., ed. Herrtage, p. 364.

Our version was doubtless taken from the *Alph. Narr.* or from the pseudo-Jacques de Vitry.

SUMMARY OF SOURCES USED BY THE COMPILER OF THE COLLECTION.

It must be confessed that this study of the sources of the North-English homilies has led to less definite positive results than was hoped. Little light has been thrown on the method of compilation of the collection as a whole, and less on the authorship. The negative results are somewhat greater and, by paradox, lead to certain conclusions which are scarcely disputable. The author of the original collection, with which alone I have concerned myself, has been shown to have been no mere compiler or translator. The former fact is proved by a comparison of many individual tales with their probable originals, where the narrator's naïve skill has heightened the effect of the story he was telling, or where he has adapted a plot to suit his purpose as in the case of no. 38. That he was not a mere translator is pretty clearly shown, moreover, by the comparatively large number of works which contain the originals or close analogues of his tales.

In presenting the following table of results I make no claim to absolute accuracy, since dogmatic statements in such matters are at best unsafe; but I think that it may be trusted to show the originality of the first compiler and the range of his knowledge.

SOURCES.

- No. 1. Biblical.
- No. 2. Some collection of Mary legends.
- No. 3. Biblical.
- No. 4. Some collection of Mary legends.
- No. 5. Life of St. Martin.
- No. 6. *Vitæ Patrum*.
- No. 7. *Vitæ Patrum*.
- No. 8. None found.
- No. 9. Biblical.
- No. 10. *Legenda Aurea*.
- No. 11. Life of St. Thomas.
- No. 12. Biblical.
- No. 13. *Dialogus Miraculorum* by Cæsar von Heisterbach.
- No. 14. *Speculum Morale*.
- No. 15. None found.

- No. 16. Life of St. Marina.
- No. 17. *Legenda Aurea*.
- No. 18. Life of St. Eustace.
- No. 19. *Vitæ Patrum*.
- No. 20. *Legenda Aurea*.
- No. 21. *Legenda Aurea*.
- No. 22. *Legenda Aurea*.
- No. 23. *Vitæ Patrum*.
- No. 24. *Speculum Morale*.
- No. 25. Life of St. Martin.
- No. 26. *Vitæ Patrum*.
- No. 27. *Life of St. Edmund*.
- No. 28. Some collection of exempla.
- No. 29. Some collection of exempla (or possibly Nicole de Bozon).
- No. 30. Biblical.
- No. 31. Nicole de Bozon (?).
- No. 32. *Summa Virtutum ac Vitiorum* by Paraldus.
- No. 33. *Alphabetum Narrationum* by Étienne de Besançon.
- No. 34. *Vitæ Patrum*.
- No. 35. Collection of exempla ascribed to Jacques de Vitry.
- No. 36. Biblical.
- No. 37. *Vitæ Patrum*.
- No. 38. A French *fabliau*.
- No. 39. Life of St. Theophilus.
- No. 40. Collection of exempla, or Wilham de Wadington (?).
- No. 41. *Vitæ Patrum*, *Speculum Morale*, or Paraldus.
- No. 42. *Homilia* of Gregory the Great.
- No. 43. Life of St. Pelagia.
- No. 44. *Manuel des Pechiez* by Wilham de Wadington (?).
- No. 45. *Legenda Aurea*, Paraldus, or Étienne de Besançon.
- No. 46. Romance of Alexander (ecclesiastical version in Latin).
- No. 47. *Homilia* of Gregory the Great.
- No. 48. Étienne de Besançon.
- No. 49. Wilham de Wadington.
- No. 50. Biblical.
- No. 51. Some collection of Mary legends.
- No. 52. Some collection of Mary legends.
- No. 53. Life of St. Alexis.
- No. 54. *Legenda Aurea*.
- No. 55. Exempla ascribed to Jacques de Vitry, or Étienne de Besançon.

For two tales (nos. 8 and 15) no originals or analogues have been found. In the case of two others (nos. 41 and 45) it is impossible to decide between a trio of similar stories as to which are the originals. Seven narratives were taken from the Bible, and an equal number from the *Vitæ Patrum*. Independent lives of individual saints supplied the material for nine. Collections of Mary legends furnished four and anonymous collections of Latin exempla three or possibly five (see nos. 40 and 55). Six came from Jacobus a Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, and two or three (see no. 55) from Étienne's *Alphabetum Narrationum*. Two came from the *Speculum Morale*, falsely ascribed to Vincent of Beauvais, a like number from Gregory's *Homilia*, and two or three (see no. 40) from the French of Wilham de Wadington. One was taken from each of the following sources: Cæsar von Heisterbach, Paraldus, Nicole de Bozon (?), a French *fabliau*, and the Alexander cycle.

Altogether, excluding the Bible and counting each saint's biography by itself, twenty-two different works are represented in the compilation. This is a large number for one man to use at that day, especially in the compilation of a popular didactic work; but it must be remembered that the writer was probably a member of one of the rich monastic establishments of the North with considerable stores of books at his command. Moreover, from the changes made it is safe to say that the author sometimes wrote from memory and perhaps from oral tradition rather than from reference to books. Certainly he was neither very learned nor a man of great literary skill. The following passage from the prologue well illustrates the purpose and achievement of the work:

Forthi will I of my pouerte
 Shewe some thinge I haue in hert,
 On ynglihsse tonge þat all maye
 Vnderstand what I will saye.
 For lewid men hase mare mistere
 Goddes worde for to here
 þan clerkes þt paire merour lokes,
 þt seese how þai sall liue in bokes.
 And bathe clerkes & lawde man
 Ynglihs vndirstand can
 þt was born in yngelande
 And lange has bene þare in wonande;
 Bot all men can noȝt I wisse
 Vndirstand latyne ne frankisse.

(From MS. Ashmole 42, fol. 1 b, vv. 59-72.)



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